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ANNALS

OF THE

HOUSE OF HANOVER,

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED BY

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ALPHABETICAL INDEX
OF THE
ROMAN HISTORY

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
HOUSE OF HANOVER.

BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF OTHO, FIRST DUKE
OF BRUNSWICK AND LUNEBURG, SURNAMED
THE CHILD (*DAS KINDT*.)

ON the death of Henry Duke of Saxony, and
Count Palatine of the Rhine, Otho, the only
son of William, Prince of Luneburg, became,
as has already been stated, the male represen-
tative of the House of Guelph.

Otho was born at Luneburg, the residence
of his father, in 1204, and at nine years of age
was left an orphan. His uncle, the Emperor,
after whom he was named, was too much en-
gaged in defending the rights of the empire,
and the privileges of his crown, to pay any atten-
tion to the private affairs of his family, and the

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A.D. 1227.

Otho succeeds to the
States of Brunswick.

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His early years spent
in retirement :

Count Palatine for a time had a son of his own, whose welfare engaged the whole of his affections. The young Prince of Luneburg, (for so he was styled,) was in consequence allowed to pass his youth in retirement with his mother, and under her guardianship he received the greater part of his education. The death of the Prince Palatine, in 1214, may be said to have opened to him a more splendid succession than what belonged to the very circumscribed patrimony of his father; but as his uncle Henry hesitated between a desire to aggrandize his own children (daughters) and a sense of what was due to the male representative of his name and family, Otho reaped little advantage from these enlarged prospects.

His uncle executes
a deed in his favour :

At last, in 1223, Henry executed a deed, by which he appointed his nephew his successor in all that remained of the allodial domains of the duchies of Saxony and Bavaria, and also in the private fiefs which he held as an individual in other parts of the empire. These states, however, constituted so small a portion of the former wealth of his illustrious house, that we should have thought there was scarcely a pretext for either envy or alarm in the breast of his

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The emperor intrigues against him :

enemy, yet when the Emperor was made acquainted with the intentions of the Count Palatine, he began to intrigue with his daughters. That he might have a pretence for depriving Otho of the succession at his uncle's death, he purchased from the Margravine of Baden and the Duchess of Bavaria their claims as the only issue of the Duke of Saxony; and no sooner was the death of Henry announced, than the King of the Romans was despatched with an imperial force to take possession of the city and territory of Brunswick. But Otho, who was then in the 23d year of his age, had been regularly acknowledged by the states as their legitimate sovereign and had been received as such by the city and principality. They therefore joined him heartily in repelling this invasion, and the king and his army were compelled to retire, without being able to effect the object which the emperor had in view.

Invades Brunswick :

To be prepared against any future attempt of the same kind, Otho judged it prudent at this time to enter into a treaty with his uncle the King of Denmark, by which they respectively bound themselves to support

Otho leagues with the King of Denmark :

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each other against all enemies whatsoever. This treaty, which was no doubt considered by the duke and his councillors as a very proper measure, was in the end most injurious to the states of Brunswick.

The cause of that
league :

During the civil war which followed the decease of Frederick Barbarossa, the empire was in such a state of disorder, that the Danes found little difficulty in encroaching upon her boundaries ; and in addition to the provinces which had been yielded up to Denmark, when Henry the Lion was driven from Saxony, that kingdom had succeeded in getting possession of Hamburg, Lubeck, and other cities, which it still held when Frederick II. succeeded to the crown. But in 1222, Waldemar the second, King of Denmark, had some difference with the Count of Swerin ; and the latter being unable to cope with the monarch in the open field, had recourse to stratagem. In an unguarded moment, he got hold of the king and his son, and carried them off prisoners to his strong castle of Danneberg, where, notwithstanding the efforts of the Danes and their allies, they were kept in confinement for more than three years. At this unfortunate period, many of

the German cities availed themselves of the opportunity to throw off the Danish yoke, and Lubeck, among others, regained its freedom.

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Waldemar, through the intercession of the Pope and the Emperor, obtained his liberty, but upon the express condition that he would not attempt to retake any of the cities that had withdrawn from his authority. His hands were thus tied for a time; but no sooner had the Pope and Frederick quarrelled, which they soon did, than he applied to the Court of Rome, and got absolved from the treaty which he had signed while in prison. He used the utmost diligence in collecting an army, with which he entered Holstein, and, in the terms of the league so lately agreed upon, he was joined by Otho and the troops of Brunswick. Their united forces formed a very respectable army, and they took and destroyed a number of towns, and had recovered a great part of the Duchy of Holstein, when they were opposed by the Count of Schaumburg, who had been joined by the Duke of Saxony and the Archbishop of Bremen. The two armies were nearly of equal strength, and as both parties were anxious to

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The battle of Born-
hoved:

Otho taken pri-
soner.

try the issue of a general battle, they were not long in coming to an engagement. The field chosen for this action, was in the neighbourhood of the town of Bornhoved. The contest was maintained with great firmness on both sides, and continued for an unusual length of time, and the carnage was so great, that they fought, it is said, knee deep in blood. The King of Denmark had one of his eyes shot out, and had several horses killed under him, but his troops and their allies fought with so much bravery, that the victory would have been theirs, had not the contingent of Dithmar deserted their colours. At the most critical moment of the action these troops passed over to the enemy, and gave them so much the advantage in point of numbers, that the Danes were obliged to give way. In the confusion which followed the Duke of Brunswick and the Bishop of Rippen were taken prisoners. Otho was sent to Rostock, the capital of Swerin, where he was shut up in a fortress. But the King of Denmark, who escaped from the field, busied himself in repairing this disaster, by forming a fresh army, with which he kept the enemy in check.

The Emperor no sooner heard of Otho's confinement, than he again prepared to attack Brunswick. His son, the Roman king, was detached with a considerable force to seize upon the city; and that more weight might be given to the expedition, the Duke of Bavaria was prevailed upon to accompany him. But on their approach, they found the gates shut, and the citizens prepared to defend their liberties, while they learnt, at the same time, that the King of Denmark was advancing upon their rear. They were therefore compelled to sound a retreat; and luckily for the captive prince, the emperor had become involved in matters of higher importance, which we shall now briefly notice, and was under the necessity of withdrawing his attention from the conquest of Brunswick.

The suppression of the Guelphic influence in Germany, and the division of their territories among so many princes of minor influence, had left the Swabian family, in some measure, without any competitor for the imperial rank. But though Frederick II. had long been treated as the favourite son of the church, he began about this time to find the yoke of Rome

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The King of the Romans invades Brunswick a second time ;

And is compelled to retreat.

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a little too burdensome. The demands of the Holy Father were become more frequent than he had either the power or the inclination to meet.

Origin of the disputes between Frederick II. and the court of Rome.

So early as his coronation in 1220, Frederick had bound himself to lead an army in person to the Holy Land, and though he had been punctual in sending the troops he had promised, he had, under various pretences, contrived to postpone his own departure. When the news of the loss of Damietta reached Europe, the Pope was in great wrath, and reproached him in no very measured terms. He even threatened him with excommunication, if any further excuses were offered: such bold language began to rouse the angry feelings of Frederick, and he retaliated by sending out of Sicily a number of prelates, who were suspected of being hostile to his government, and by directing his troops to invade the Roman states.

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This attitude of defiance induced Honorius to assume for the present a milder tone; and as the emperor was unwilling to drive matters to extremities, a meeting was agreed upon. They spent fifteen days together at Veroli,

The Pope and emperor meet.

and it was settled that a diet should be held at Verona, against the Feast of Saint Martin, to decide on the measure of a crusade; but the emperor afterwards found means to have it put off till the following year, and even then, the Pope was obliged to rest satisfied with his promise to embark for Palestine in two years from that time.

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Frederick continued to make some show of preparation, but when informed that several cities in Lombardy had entered into a secret league against him, he wrote to the Pope, complaining of their conduct, and prayed that on account of their rebellion, a further respite might be granted him. This was agreed to also; but when the revolted cities had been punished, and peace re-established in Italy, Honorius renewed his entreaties, and pressed for the speedy departure of the emperor, and his German crusaders.

This had become the more necessary, as Italy was greatly oppressed by a numerous army of soldiers, that for some time had been collecting from all the nations of Europe. But the death of Honorius at that critical period afforded the emperor a further cause for delay; he began to relax in his preparations for the fo-

The death of Honorius III.

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reign campaign, and to occupy himself in what more immediately concerned his private interests; and it was at this moment of leisure that the second attack on Brunswick was made.

It happened fortunately for the Duke of Brunswick, that the Count of Swerin died this year, and that on his death-bed he had directed that he should be set at liberty. The Duke of Saxony, who claimed a joint right in his detention, refused at first to comply with the dying request of his friend, but when allowed to take possession of the Castle of Hardsacre and other states, as a security for the payment of his ransom, he was permitted to leave his prison. Otho reached Brunswick in the month of September, 1228, and was received by his faithful vassals with every mark of respect and attachment. He renewed and confirmed the various charters granted by his ancestors to the city, and greatly enlarged its privileges; while his uncle, the King of Denmark, bestowed as a boon upon the citizens the liberty of trading in his dominions, without paying customs or any other dues.

The Duke of Brunswick obtains his liberty.

On his way from Rostock, Otho had spent some days at the court of the Margrave of

Brandenburg, where he had seen and admired the Princess Matilda, the daughter of the margrave, and no sooner were his private affairs arranged, than he sent to demand the hand of this princess in marriage. It was an alliance too flattering for the House of Brandenburg to be rejected. Matters were speedily settled, and the marriage ceremony was performed with great splendour at Luneburg.

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December.

Though the emperor had not been able to prevail with open force against the citizens of Brunswick, he was more successful by secret intrigue. The King of the Romans, in his retreat, had got possession of the city of Gottingen, and had left a garrison in that city. A communication was privately kept up with Brunswick by means of this garrison; and his emissaries by a liberal distribution of their gold, succeeded in raising a formidable insurrection. But Otho had the aid of his father-in-law's troops, and soon suppressed the revolt; and as the emperor's affairs with the court of Rome called now for his undivided attention, the duke was left in quiet possession of his government, and had leisure to attend to the regulation of the internal policy of his hereditary states.

The city of Brunswick in a state of insurrection.

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The time had arrived, when Frederick could no longer delay his promised journey to the Holy Land ; and as Gregory IX., who had succeeded to the Papal chair on the death of Honorius III., was even more urgent than his predecessor had been, and somewhat more determined, the emperor was under the necessity of preparing seriously for his departure. He was attended by the empress to Otranto, where he left her, and joined the army at Brundusium.

The emperor joins
the army of the cru-
saders :

The concourse of soldiers which had assembled at this port was so great, that they had been obliged to bivouac in the open fields. They were without tents or any kind of covering, and being in want of provisions, and exposed to the extreme heat of the season, disease had begun to make rapid progress amongst them. When the emperor took the command, the whole army was in a state of mutiny, and the soldiers refused to go on board ship. But he had made up his mind to proceed at all hazards, and embarking with the Landgraves of Hesse and Thuringen, and such of their troops as could be prevailed upon to join in the expedition, they set sail with a contrary wind. After tossing about the

And embarks :

coast for several days, without making the least progress in their voyage, and having suffered considerably in a storm, they were forced to return to the port from which they had sailed.

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But obliged to return to port :

The emperor wrote to the Pope from Otranto to communicate the state of affairs, and to urge his inability to endure the sea-sickness, from which he had suffered so much, as an excuse for his declining to proceed again by sea. But Gregory could receive no apology, nor would he admit of any excuse. He commanded the emperor and his followers to re-embark without a moment's delay ; and when he heard that some hesitation was expressed, he thundered forth a sentence of excommunication, which was forwarded by express to all the courts of Europe. Frederick again endeavoured to retaliate upon the clergy ; but Gregory was firm to his purpose, and even when the emperor had humbled himself, and declared his readiness to try the voyage once more, he was told it was too late ; that the sentence could not be removed, and that he must not dare to engage in so holy an enterprise, while the curse of the church stood recorded against him. But not-

He is excommunicated by Gregory :

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withstanding he was thus prohibited, he pursued his own course, and embarking under more favourable circumstances, had a speedy and a pleasant voyage to Acre.

The Pope, when he found his commands set at nought, was much displeased. He renewed the sentence of excommunication, and expressed his determination to have Frederick removed from the throne. The princes

The Germans are absolved from their oath of allegiance.

and people of Germany were publicly absolved from their oath of allegiance, and a cardinal was sent to intrigue with the young Duke of Brunswick, with a view of inducing him to start for the imperial crown.

The Duke of Spoleto was left by the emperor as his lieutenant, with full powers in Italy, and had authority to conclude a peace with Rome, but Gregory refused to hold any com-

The Duke of Spoleto invades the states of the church.

munication with him. The Duke, therefore, advanced upon the states of the church, with an army, composed principally of Saracens, and plundered and burnt the cities that fell into his power. This army and its leader were excommunicated as a matter of course, but that sentence did not arrest their progress, and the Pope began to find it necessary for his own

safety, to have recourse to weapons more efficient than the anathemas of the church. He accordingly gave orders to levy an army, which, when assembled, he placed under the command of John of Brienne, a celebrated captain of that day, to whom was attached the Cardinal Colonna.

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The Pope raises an army.

Brienne found he had the materials, but that they wanted organization; and he fixed his head-quarters at Capua, and began to form his army. The Duke of Spoleto pursued him to the neighbourhood of that city, but was unable to force him into any engagement, until his reinforcements had all arrived, and his troops were in order.

The whole of Italy became involved in this contest, and it was in Lombardy, that the cry of Guelph and Ghibelline began, for the first time, to assume that bitterness of hate, which, in the end, armed brother against brother, and made even father and son the most deadly of enemies. These distinctive terms, even in this war, were employed to denote the adherents of the church, and the supporters of the emperor, without any reference to the illustrious families with whose rivalry they originated; but still we may suppose that it was

Italy involved in a civil war.

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with a view of giving an eclât to his party at that moment that Gregory was so anxious for the head of the Guelphic family to take an interest in the contest, and to aspire to that rank in the empire which he alone was entitled to claim.

Otho of Brunswick solicited to take the crown of Germany:

It is alleged by some that the Duke of Brunswick was well-inclined to enter into the views of the Pope, but that he found he could neither raise men nor money sufficient to warrant even a probability of success. This we are inclined to doubt, for had Otho been ambitious, he might have obtained the empire without much difficulty; and supported as he was by England and Denmark, it is not likely that he could have been at a loss for an army, or for the means of supporting it. But this prince, though young in years, was mature in wisdom. He had learnt enough from his uncle's fate and Frederick's present circumstances not to place any dependence on papal promises or papal support; and as he had hopes of being restored to those honours which were his by right of inheritance, he refused the offered diadem, and would not engage in any measure that could compromise his fidelity to his lawful sovereign.

But refuses it.

As a proof that Otho had the full confidence and support of the King of England, we find that the moment he obtained his liberty, he wrote to communicate the same to Henry III., who was his cousin, and as Henry's answer has fortunately been preserved by Rymer*, it becomes a valuable part of these annals, as it puts our conjecture beyond a doubt. The king's letter is dated the 6th of March, 1229, and, when translated from the Latin, is nearly as follows:

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“ Henry, by the Grace of God, King, &c., to his beloved cousin Otho, Duke of Brunswick, health and sincere affection in the Lord. For the delivery of your body from the hands of our enemies, who have so long kept it in captivity, we give thanks to the Most High, and since it was not possible to obtain your liberty without a sacrifice of worldly goods, we do assure you that freedom is more to be esteemed than great wealth or extensive dominions.

Letter of Henry III.
of England to Otho
of Brunswick.

“ It is not unknown to you how long and how unjustly your enemies and ours have kept us out of our just rights and hereditary possessions by their violent usurpations; nevertheless we

* Acta Anglican, t. i. p. 308.

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have hope in the Lord, who has never forsaken those that put their trust in Him, that in a short time we may be able to recover those rights which, for the present, they are able to withhold from you and from us.

“ Furthermore, we have heard various reports which especially concern your honour and ours, and which, when you have been made acquainted with them, will, under God’s blessing, afford you much joy and satisfaction. In regard to your request that we should not allow our sister to be contracted in marriage with the Duke of Anhalt, whose connexions were your bitterest enemies while you were in prison, we have to assure you, that without your advice and approbation we shall take care that nothing is done, and not only in this but in other matters we are anxious to have your advice.

“ *We wish you also to know that we are at all times ready and willing to undertake whatever may be for your honour or interest, as we consider you in all respects a member of our own family; we have therefore to request that you will send over a confidential servant, who can make us acquainted with your views and wishes,*

and by whom we can communicate fully our sentiments to you.

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“ *At Guildford.* Witness I, THE KING.”

From this letter we learn that the most intimate and confidential intercourse existed between the King of England and the Duke of Brunswick ; that Henry III. esteemed his cousin, and had confidence in his judgment, and that he was not regarded by the family of England as a stranger or an alien.

Henry had heard that the crown of Germany was to be offered to Otho, and judging of his cousin by his own ambitious feelings, he felt assured that such an offer would give him pleasure, and while he mentions this, he further distinctly states that he was ready to afford him every support. But Otho had decided otherwise, and when the offer was made, it was, as we have stated, refused.

Remarks on that letter.

We find by further documents in Rymer*, that Otho sent over a clergyman who enjoyed his confidence, to communicate with the king, and that Henry despatched this messenger to Rome with a letter to the Pope, in which he

Letter of Henry III. to the Pope in favour of Otho.

* Lib. citat. p. 309.

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repeats his thanks to Gregory for the zealous part he had taken in procuring the freedom of his dear cousin the Duke of Brunswick, and adds, “that as Christian Princes may approach his Holiness with their petitions, he ventures to supplicate a continuance of his especial favour to his said cousin, which by reason of their near connexion in blood he would esteem as much as if shewn to himself.” He implores Gregory to promote Otho’s honour whenever it is in his power, and to recommend him to the princes of the empire, as often as he had an opportunity, adding, “that he most firmly believed and trusted in the Lord, that among all the princes of the empire he would be found the one most devoted to the interests of the church ; and that as he considered his release from prison owing in a great measure to the influence of the Apostolic See, he would consequently be the more obsequious to that power.

Remarks connected
with England.

At the time Henry was thus interesting himself in his cousin’s welfare, we learn from the chronicles of England, that he was preparing an expedition for the conquest of those continental possessions which, during the latter years of his father’s reign, had been seized

upon, and were still held by the King of France; and we are told, indeed, that England poured forth her warriors for this expedition, but that, when the young king joined the army at Portsmouth, which he did in the month of September, he found there were not transports for one half of the troops collected. This it is said was owing to the intrigues of the Queen of France, who had bribed Hubert, Earl of Kent, his justiciary or chancellor, to get this expedition delayed.

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Whether Hubert was to blame, or, as the king affirmed, had received five thousand marks for acting as he had done, may not be quite ascertained; but certain it is, that before the transports could be got ready, the season was too far advanced, and the army was dismissed, with orders to assemble again, in the following spring.

The Duke of Brunswick sent three of his confidential barons to Henry about the commencement of 1230, to assist in the arrangements necessary for the expedition; and Otho himself joined the King in France, and probably returned with him, as he was in England this year. There are two documents

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Visits that kingdom.

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in the Record Office at the Tower which prove this. The one is an order to the Constable of Windsor Forest, signed by the king, commanding him to receive the Duke of Brunswick, and to permit him to hunt wherever he pleased. The other is a similar order, addressed to the keeper of the Palace and Park of Havering, directing him to receive and treat the Duke as a prince of the Royal Family, and to permit him to follow the chase where and when he judged it proper. The first is dated at Westminster, the 18th day of July, in the 14th year of the king's reign; and the latter, though without any date, appears evidently to have been written at the same time. This visit must have been made with great privacy, as there is no trace of it in any of the chronicles, and the object was probably to support the king, regarding the prosecution of the French war.

History of England
continued.

According to the account given in the history of Henry's reign, he left Portsmouth at the end of Easter, 1230, and landed in Brittany, with a design of marching into Poitou; but finding that the King of France had a strong force at Angers, he returned upon

Normandy, with an intention of reducing that province. But Hubert, his minister, was either bought with French gold, or considered the possession of these continental provinces as injurious to the true interests of England. His intrigues baffled the king's wishes ; and, a rebellion having broke out in Ireland and in Wales, the presence of the army became necessary at home. It is asserted, that England lost much treasure and many men ; but they must have been speedily dissipated, as Henry could not have sailed before the middle or end of April, and we see by the order to the Constable of Windsor, that he was at Westminster on the 18th of July, consequently he could not have been absent more than two months.

The issue of the expedition, was a three year's truce between France and England ; and it is not improbable that Otho succeeded in convincing Henry of the impropriety of entering into any contest with Frederick for the crown of the empire, or of their listening to any terms that might prove prejudicial to the interests of that monarch.

But though the Pope's legate was foiled in

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BOOK VI. his attempt to stir up a rival or a rebellion in

A.D. 1230.

History of Germany
resumed.

Germany, the civil war continued to rage most violently in Italy, and while Frederick remained in Palestine, the Guelphic or Pope's party had rather the advantage. This, however, was not of long continuance, as the Emperor found that all his measures in the East were counteracted by the clergy and religious orders, who refused, in consequence of the sentence of excommunication remaining in force, to obey his commands, or acknowledge his authority. He therefore concluded a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt; and, as his presence seemed only to injure the Christian cause, he made preparations for his return to Europe; and wrote to the Pope from Acre, and to the King of England, explaining his conduct, and the necessity for his return.

Frederick deter-
mines to leave Pa-
lestine.

Gregory, when he understood that Frederick was actually on his way to Europe, made great efforts to stir up a party against him. He applied to France, to Spain, and to Portugal, and sent back his legate into Germany, with orders to proceed into Denmark. But neither prince nor prelate seemed to care for the remonstrances of the Pope; and when Fre-

derick reached Germany, he found his authority as firmly established as ever.

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It was only in Lombardy that rebellion and civil war could be kept up; for when the cardinal legate even got an assembly to meet at Wurtzburg, his sentiments were so ill received, and he was considered so great a disturber of the peace of the empire, that he had some difficulty in escaping with his life.

Germany at peace,
and faithful.

The bad success of his emissary rather disposed the Pope to think of procuring a peace, and with that view the Master of the Teutonic order was deputed to convey to Frederick the wishes of his Holiness. A negotiation was entered into, which was carried on for many months, and on the 23d of July, 1230, a treaty was signed, and the emperor was solemnly absolved from the sentence of excommunication, under which he had so long suffered.

He makes peace with
the Pope, and is ab-
solved.

Though neither Otho of Brunswick, (who had both a good right and a good excuse for lending his aid to the angry Pope,) nor any other prince in the empire, could be found to head a revolt against the emperor; we blush for the weakness of human nature, when we report that Henry, his eldest son, the child of

Henry, King of the
Romans, conspires
against his father :

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Is pardoned :

Rebels a secondtime.

his affections, and the prince destined to succeed him, was base enough to enter into a conspiracy to deprive his father of the crown. The reconciliation, however, of the emperor and Pope put an end to this unnatural rebellion ; and the King of the Romans, alarmed at the enormity of his crime, wrote to his father, to implore his pardon. Frederick, though he pardoned, seems to have doubted the sincerity of his son's repentance, for in his answer he says, " I pardon you, and I wish I could as easily lose all recollection of the injuries you have done me, as I know you will forget the favour I have granted you." In this he spoke too truly, as a very short time saw Henry again at the head of a faction, and in open rebellion against his father and sovereign. There are always some who prefer the favour of an ambitious heir-apparent, to the duty they owe the reigning monarch ; and we accordingly find that Henry had supporters among the nobles of Germany, and that many of the princes whom his grandfather had made, and his father protected, were the first to join him in his rebellion. The Duke of Bavaria is said to have been the principal director of the King of the Romans.

Frederick had the support of the Duke of Brunswick, and of all the old princes of the empire, and his son was subdued. When brought before him, he pretended again to sue for pardon, but was sternly commanded to prison; and when the friends of the young man attempted to interfere, they were told that, as the head of the state, it became the emperor to see the laws supported, and that, as the first law of nature and of all states, was to command a son to be obedient to his father, he could not suffer any interference. At his desire, this guilty son was deprived of his crown, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

But to return to the private history of the Duke of Brunswick. Soon after his return from England, the people of Stade rebelled against the authority of the Bishop of Bremen. It was alleged that they had adopted the heretical doctrines of the Albigenses, and the Pope was persuaded to preach a crusade against them. Indulgences were granted to all who could be prevailed upon to engage in the holy warfare, and this handful of heretics was beset on all sides.

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Annals of Brunswick renewed.

People of Stade rebel against their bishop.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1233.

The Duke of Brunswick, who knew how unjustly they were attacked, for a time rather favoured their cause; and as long as he did so, they were successful. They defeated the Count of Oldenburg, who invaded their country with two hundred followers, bearing the cross upon their arms, and took him prisoner. But to avoid the imputation of heresy, Otho was obliged to declare against them, and when this determination was made known, he received more than one complimentary epistle from Rome. Every means were used to induce him to take an active part in the suppression of his refractory vassals; but as their enmity was against the bishop, and not against him, he allowed the prelate to fight his own battles. The heretics were at last subdued, and compelled to return to the bosom of the Church, while Otho employed himself in endeavouring to correct the morals of his people. There has been preserved a letter of his to the abbot and monks of the monastery of Nordheim, dated March, 1234, in which he states that “the monks and their noviciates were guilty of exercising the most abominable insolences and crimes, hateful to God, and injurious to hu-

Otho attempts to reform the religious orders:

manity, so much so indeed, that not only their persons, but the very place itself was become black with infamy. He therefore orders, under his most severe displeasure, and that there may be no excuse for such wickedness in their neighbourhood for the future, that all young women, who from their youth or beauty, might lead to a temptation to sin, should immediately be shut up in the convents; and that they, the monks, should only keep near them such elderly matrons, as, by their speech and behaviour, were calculated to adorn the female character; but that as soon as these matrons had died off, their place was not to be filled by any others of the female sex." We quote this, as shewing not only the care which the prince had for the welfare of his subjects, but as proving the abandoned profligacy that existed among the inmates of the cloister even at that early period.

It was by such upright conduct that Otho gained the approbation of his peers, and the affection of his subjects, and that his merits came so conspicuously before the world, that the princes of the empire began to take an interest in his welfare.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1234.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1234.

His differences with
the emperor arranged
by arbitration.

Frederick, who was not insensible of Otho's magnanimity, began also to open his eyes, and that there might no longer be any cause for enmity between them, arbitrators were mutually chosen to settle all differences. The emperor, too, was at this period a widower, for the second time, and had fixed his affections on the Princess Isabella of England, the youngest daughter of King John. He had sent to demand her hand in marriage, and we may therefore conclude, that the intimate connexion which was known to exist between the royal family of England and the Duke of Brunswick, and the desire which Frederick must have felt to make himself acceptable to the former, would in some measure soften his enmity to the latter.

A.D. 1235.

The diet at Mentz.

We find that soon after his marriage, a diet of the empire was called, to meet at Mentz, to which Otho was invited, and where, in terms of an arrangement that had previously been agreed upon, he resigned into the hands of the emperor the whole of his allodial possessions. They were immediately re-conveyed to him as a matter of course, but the following document, the original of which, in Latin, is still preserved

with the seal of the emperor in gold attached to it; we must beg leave to translate, as the CHARTER by which the duchy of Brunswick and Luneburg was constituted or created.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1235.

“In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, Frederick the Second, by divine favour and mercy, Emperor of the Romans, always august; of Jerusalem and Sicily, King, &c. The ever-glorious Lord of lords, who in his majesty hath established kingdoms, and confirmed the empire, by whose mercy we live, and through whose favour we happily reign, who, for his wise purposes, hath established us above kings and kingdoms, and elevated us to the imperial throne, and in order that those subjected to us may be moved by our actions to show their gratitude, hath given us power to maintain peace and justice, and that those among the sons of men who are pre-eminent in the earth, may, at their own request, be exalted, and admitted to such honour and distinctions as they are not unworthy of, we are always most willing to decorate them with rank and titles, in the name of the empire. Therefore it is that by this present writing we wish it to be understood by all existing

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1235.

The charter of
Brunswick and Lu-
neburg.

and future generations, that it has long been our wish, that our beloved cousin Otho of Luneburg, should be more strictly united with the empire, and more firmly bound to us, but that time and circumstances have not permitted it; yet though our intentions could not be fulfilled sooner, we have availed ourselves of our present return into Germany, to call this diet at Mentz, for the purpose of obtaining the consent of the princes to the reform necessary in the whole government; and Otho, at our desire, having taken his seat in the assembly, and kneeling before us, in the midst of the princes, all past envy and hatred that may have existed between our ancestors was forgotten. He, the said Otho of Luneburg, then placed in our hands, to be disposed of at our pleasure, his whole possessions of Luneburg, with all castles and subjects belonging to the same, and which in the German language are called EYGEN, (*free and independent states*), and gave us full power and dominion over them, so that we might do with them what seemed good unto us.

“ And we being desirous of increasing the empire, by every mean in our power, have

accepted of the said Castle of Luneburg, with the other castles, and their subjects, which Otho hath assigned to us, and have fully and freely transferred and given them up to the empire, that they may become fiefs of the same.

“ With regard to the City and territory of Brunswick, one half of which we purchased from the Margrave of Baden, and the other half from the Duke of Bavaria, our beloved relations, and which they held in right of their wives, the daughters of Henry of Brunswick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, uncle of the said Otho; we have also given them up to the empire, and have transferred to the head of the state that right which till now belonged to us personally.

“ And the said Otho, in this general assembly, with his hands united in ours, having sworn upon the holy cross of the empire (which was there placed) the oath of fidelity; and we having regard to the sincere and open devotion with which he has conformed to all our orders, and yielded himself to our pleasure, by giving up into our possession his own castle, which he held of no one, and how he hath humbled himself in every becoming manner before us.

“ Considering further, that the empire was

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1235.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1235.

never injured through his means, nor our honour attacked by him, at the suggestion of any one, we have judged it right and proper to augment his state, and to provide for him with imperial liberality. We do therefore, with the consent and approbation of the princes of the empire, unite the city of Brunswick and castle of Luneburg, with all the territories and subjects belonging to both, into one principality, which, from henceforward, we constitute a duchy, and, by our imperial authority, we declare our beloved cousin Otho, Duke and Prince of the same. We give it to him as a fief of the empire, and to his heirs whether male or female, upon whom it may devolve hereditarily; and according to custom, we solemnly invest him with the standards,—granting him also as a greater mark of our favour, the tenths of the mines of Goslar, which belong to the empire. We also grant to his officers all the privileges which belong to, or are assumed by, the officers of the empire, to be enjoyed by them, as they are enjoyed by the officers of other princes; and in testimony of this grant, and that it may have effect in all time to come, we have ordered this charter to be passed, and that it shall be sealed

with a golden seal, containing an impression of our royal person."

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1235.

The witnesses to the charter are twenty-five bishops, five abbots, and sixteen princes, and, as is added, many others. It is dated at Mentz, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, 1235, the 8th induction (21st day) of the month of August, in the sixteenth year of Frederick's reign as emperor, in the tenth year of his reign as King of Jerusalem, and in his thirty-eighth as King of Sicily.

Such then was the establishment of the duchy of Brunswick and Luneburg, and the terms upon which Otho and his heirs have continued to hold this remnant of their ancestor's dominions. It is asserted in some of the chronicles, and not without reason, that the cause of so much liberality on the part of Frederick, was a desire to please his young empress. We have seen with what anxiety the King of England watched over the interests of his kinsman; and it is naturally to be supposed, that when Isabella found herself seated on the throne of Germany, she would not be indifferent to the welfare of her cousin. It was probably through her mediation, that matters were settled as

Remarks on the establishment of the new title in the family of Guelph.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1235.

has been stated, and that this new duchy was made acceptable to Otho.

From the moment of his uncle's decease, we find that he assumed and received the title of Duke of Brunswick. It was not therefore, properly speaking, a new creation, nor could it be considered a new title. He was, by birth and blood, entitled to the ducal rank, and as was customary, he took his style from the chief city of his dominions.

The above-recited charter is nothing more than a confirmation of his rank and titles, according to those forms of feudal holding, which had come to prevail throughout all the states of Europe, and to which the most independent princes were compelled to submit. We rather think that Otho was amongst the very last of those that yielded to such a degradation. The other princes of Germany had long acknowledged their vassalage, and most of them had received their original grants upon feudal tenure. But though the House of Guelph, so early as the tenth century, had received and enjoyed fiefs, for which they did homage to the head of the empire, their principal states were always free and imperial, and

held by them, independent of any superior power. These they had possessed from the first establishment of the Goths in Germany.

The enmity of the House of Swabia might well be satisfied, when it saw that family, through whose influence it had first been raised to power, reduced to the level of many of its former servants, and found the representative of the most ancient lineage in Europe, numbered among the feudal princes of the empire*.

To Otho, the superior in point of birth of all the sovereigns of Christendom, it was, indeed, a degradation to become a vassal of the German empire, but it was a degradation which the state of Europe rendered necessary, and the feelings of mankind considered honourable. It was therefore less felt, and could not be objected to. One thing we must observe, it was not sought, it was offered, and under circumstances too, that made it impossible to refuse it.

Otho and the emperor, upon principles of perfect equality, had submitted their differences to impartial arbitrators, and had mutually bound themselves to abide by their award. This, then, we must suppose, was the result

* See notes and illustrations.

BOOK VI. of their judgment, with which the Duke of
 A.D. 1235. Brunswick was called upon to comply; and though he did homage to his rival, and the hereditary enemy of his house, it was not to the man, but to the throne which he filled. He acknowledged fealty to the empire, not to the emperor, and became the vassal of the state, not of the sovereign.

Otho claims the advocacy of Hildesheim:

Otho, in the diet at Mentz, claimed the sovereignty of the bishopric of Hildesheim, which had been enjoyed by his family from time immemorial, but in an assembly where the majority were prelates, it was not likely that his claim would be admitted; accordingly, we find that the bishopric was declared a free principality, and that when this took place

He leaves the diet:

Otho left the diet.

On the 26th of August, he was at Göttingen, arranging matters with the Count of Everstein, who, as a partisan of the emperor, had hitherto been the declared enemy of the Duke of Brunswick. All differences, however, were now settled, and they entered into a mutual bond of peace and amity, and agreed to defend each other's states against all domestic sedition, or external invasion.

The internal government of the city of Brunswick next called for his attention. The emperor, by means of his emissaries, had kept up a spirit of sedition in that city, ever since the year 1228, and the people of Stade had more than once appeared in open rebellion; but now that the emperor had conveyed these principalities to Otho in full sovereignty, he caused letters to be addressed to both cities, commanding them to return to their duty and allegiance, to obey their lawful prince, and acknowledge his paramount authority. Otho, therefore, employed himself in restoring these and his other states to order and regularity, and in suppressing the banditti that infested the forests and highways, and had long existed upon the plunder of the defenceless inhabitants and unguarded travellers.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1235.

Is employed in regulating his states.

The banditti were soon compelled to leave their haunts, but, in the Bishop of Bremen, he found an obstinate rebel, who for a time set his authority at defiance. Otho was obliged to lead an army against his capital, and it was not till after a great part of it had been destroyed, that the archbishop could be brought to a sense of his duty. He was deprived of some of the states of the bishopric, and then admitted to

A.D. 1236.

He is obliged to besiege Bremen.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1236.

pardon upon promising obedience, and paying a heavy fine.

A.D. 1237.

At this period the Prussians, (*Pruterii*.) a barbarous people who dwelt on the southern shore of the Baltic sea, began to excite the attention of their neighbours, by the cruelties they committed in their plundering excursions, and the zeal which they manifested in destroying the Christian churches. The pope ordered a crusade against them, and the Teutonic knights were called upon to defend their Christian brethren.

The Grand Master of the order was residing at Venice, when it became necessary for him to take the field in the north of Germany. On his way to take the command of the army, he had to pass through Brunswick, and as the duke's dominions were enjoying peace, and reaping the advantages of a well-ordered government, the Grand Master invited him to take a part in the conquest of his heathen countrymen. Otho consented, if it should be found that his assistance was required; and when he understood towards the end of this year, that the Grand Master and his knights were in great jeopardy, he set out with a number of his best troops, to effect their rescue.

Joins the Teutonic
Knights against the
Prussians:

He found the Christians shut up in the fortress of Balga, which the Prussians had invested, with a determination to starve them into terms, and he arrived at a moment when famine began seriously to affect the besieged.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1237.

Knowing the advantages of secrecy and despatch, he advanced with great caution, kept his troops out of view of the enemy, and sent a confidential messenger to the Grand Master to announce his arrival. This messenger, luckily, found his way into the fortress, and it was arranged, that at a certain hour the besieged should make a sally from the castle, and thus bring the enemy into the field, and that while the garrison attacked them in front, Otho should emerge from his place of concealment, and assail them in the rear.

The Prussians, seeing the besieged advance from the walls, considered it the effect of despair, and drawing back, gave them time to form; but Otho and his troops pouring in upon them from behind, they most unexpectedly found themselves between two armies. Their force was much greater than that of the Christians; but the sudden and unexpected attack made by Otho, and their ignorance of the

A.D. 1238.

Fights a battle with
the infidels:

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1238.

And gains a signal
victory.

strength of his force, produced a confusion and terror, from which they could not recover, and they were put to flight after a great many of their chiefs had fallen. The whole of their fortresses in that part of the country were destroyed, and the Teutonic order gained possession of the provinces of Ermeland, Natangen, and Barthen, (their first property in the modern kingdom of Prussia,) and which they owed to the prudence and valour of the Duke of Brunswick and his troops.

Otho returned to his own dominions in December, 1238, and we find that he remained firmly attached to the interests of the emperor, during the stormy period that followed the usurpation of Sardinia by the natural son of Frederick, and the mutual recrimination between him and the Pope, that led to a sentence of excommunication and actual hostilities in 1239.

A.D. 1239.

A.D. 1240.

Arrival of the Tar-
tars in Hungary:

In 1240, the Tartars, whose name had first become known to Europeans in 1221, made an irruption through Russia into Poland and Hungary, destroying and carrying off every thing that came in their way. Otho sent troops to the aid of the Duke of Breslau against these infidels, and received the cross from the Bishop

Otho sends troops
against them:

of Hildesheim; but he did not proceed with the expedition, as the news arrived of their having evacuated Hungary. He was called upon, however, to take a part with his brothers-in-law Otho and John, Margraves of Brandenburg, in a dispute which they had with the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and the Bishop of Halberstadt, about some territorial boundary, or the property of a petty village, which led as a matter of course to a civil war, and was compromised after many valuable lives had been lost.

In 1243, Otho purchased from his uncle's widow, Agnes of Landsberg, the right which she enjoyed in the tenths of the mines of Goslar, and paid to her eleven hundred marks of pure silver for the same. In 1244, we find him occupied in ornamenting and improving the City of Hanover, and abrogating some old and burdensome laws, which, as a part of the Saxon code, regulated the succession of heirs to the property of their male and female relations.

In 1246, the City of Munden, on the Weser, was ceded to Otho. It had formerly belonged to the Landgrave of Hesse, but from this period it has continued a part of the Brunswick territory, and is now a city of the kingdom of Hanover.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1240.

Joins the Marquis of Brandenburg against the Bishop of Magdeburg.

A.D. 1243.

A.D. 1244.

Otho improves the city of Hanover.

A.D. 1246.

Munden becomes a city of Hanover.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1246.

The state of the empire considered.

The war between the pope and the emperor which commenced in 1239, had again raised up the spirit of faction in Italy, but though the sentence of excommunication was transmitted to Germany, it had little effect, at first, in prejudicing either the princes or the religious orders against the emperor, and the north remained tranquil, while Italy was deluged with blood.

Frederick marched against Rome in 1240, but was repulsed, and the pope, to maintain his influence, sent the Bishop of Palestine into France, to publish the sentence of excommunication and deposition, which had been pronounced, and to offer the crown to Robert, the brother of St. Louis. The King of France was too sensible of the selfish and unjust views which actuated the Pontiff, to pay much attention to his legate's demands. He suffered his clergy to act as they pleased in regard to the subsidy demanded from them, and to publish the sentence; but he absolutely refused to grant him any aid, either in troops or money, and instead of accepting the crown for his brother, he wrote to reproach the pope, for having dared to depose a sovereign.

Gregory, after this refusal, applied to Eng-

land, where, notwithstanding that Henry had given his sister to Frederick, he found a more complying ally than the King of France. Henry ordered the sentence to be published in every city in his dominions; and authorized the legate to raise what subsidies he pleased upon the clergy of England, and when Frederick remonstrated against this conduct, and reproached him with having forgotten their near alliance, Henry is said to have replied to the ambassadors, *that it was his duty to obey the Pope and his ecclesiastical commands, as he was his tributary and feudatory.* But the truth is, he partook of the money which the legate drew from the clergy, and therefore found it convenient to wink at his exactions.

After this success in England, Gregory once more wrote to Germany, absolving the princes and people from their oath of allegiance, and commanding them to elect a successor to the vacant throne. But as yet the fidelity of the Germans was not to be shaken; they replied that the Pope had no power to depose the emperor, far less any authority to order them to elect a sovereign; that they could not receive commands from a stranger, and in regard to the Pope, his

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1246.

The Pope applies to France and England for assistance against the emperor.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1246.

whole duty consisted in crowning the prince of their choice, when the throne of the empire became vacant.

Neither the wretched condition of their subjects in Asia, nor the ravages of the Tartars in Europe, which called most loudly for the union and support of the Christian world, could effect a peace between the enraged combatants, and Gregory continued the implacable enemy of the emperor to the hour of his death. Gregory died,—but the short reign of Celestine IV. (seventeen days) allowed of no change,

Innocent IV. is as much the enemy of Frederick as Gregory has been:

and Innocent IV., who, after considerable delay, was elected to the vacant chair, though in private life the particular friend of Frederick, became, as head of the church, his most determined enemy. At first, he showed a desire to make peace, but he insisted that the Lombards should be included in the treaty, and inserted, as the basis on which they were to treat, conditions which he knew the emperor would never submit to.

An attempt made to procure a peace.

The plenipotentiaries spent eight months in fruitless conferences, without being able to come to any decision. The emperor then offered to submit to the decision of the Kings of

France and England, but the Pope rejected their mediation.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1246.

On the 26th of June, 1245, a general council was opened at Lyons, where one hundred and forty-four bishops, the Emperor of Constantinople, an immense multitude of princes from different countries, and the ambassadors from England and France attended. The Pope commenced the proceedings with a speech, in which he inveighed against the emperor; several crimes were alleged and taken as proved, and he finally pronounced sentence against him in the following terms.—“ I am,” said he, “ the Vicar of Jesus Christ ! All that I bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, according to the promise of the Son of God to St. Peter, and I declare, after having taken the advice of our brothers, the cardinals, and the other prelates of this orthodox council, that Frederick has been arraigned, and found guilty of sacrilege and heresy, excommunicated and removed from the throne of the empire ; and therefore I command the electors to choose another emperor, while I reserve to myself the disposal of the kingdom of Sicily.”

A general council at Lyons.

The solemnity with which this sentence was

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1246.

The sentence of the
Pope produces a
schism in the empire.

pronounced, and to which such a number were consenting, or if not consenting, silent auditors, could not fail to make a deep impression upon the people, and from that moment the princes of the empire became divided in opinion.

The church party did not hesitate to consider the throne as vacant, but the lay princes felt a great delicacy in proceeding to a new election. Innocent fixed upon Henry Raspo, Landgrave of Thuringen, as the person best fitted to oppose Frederick. He wrote to offer him the crown, and on his acceptance, directed the Archbishops of Cologne, Treves, and Mentz, with the Bishops of Wartzburg and Spires, the Dukes of Austria, Saxony, and Brabant, to name the Landgrave the head of the empire, and to call a diet for his proper election. He promised them a remission of their sins, and fifteen thousand marks of silver, if they complied with his directions, and threatened them with his utmost displeasure if they refused.

The prelates called a diet at Wurtzburg, but notwithstanding the tempting offers of his holiness, the Dukes of Saxony, Austria, and Brabant refused to attend, and solemnly

protested against all that might take place. But notwithstanding this, the bishops met, and in conformity to the wishes of their chief, they declared the Landgrave duly elected King of the Romans, and to augment the number of his friends, Innocent caused a crusade to be preached against Frederick.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1246.

The Landgrave of Thuringen elected King of the Romans by the bishops:

Indulgences were granted to all who joined the new-made king; troops were levied for his support, and money raised upon the benefices of the clergy, and in a short time he was at the head of a numerous force, and had at his command a well-filled treasury. But Conrad, the son of the emperor, was not inactive; he governed Germany with great prudence, during his father's absence, and was highly esteemed by all ranks of the people.

The landgrave had directed a diet to assemble at Frankfort, and Conrad, determined to prevent its taking place, proceeded in the direction of that city. On his way, he fell in with the army of the Thuringians, and having attacked them, was on the point of gaining the victory, when the darkness of the night put an end to the contest. It was renewed next morning at the break of day, but the landgrave had

Conrad, the son of Frederick, opposes this election:

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1246.

Is conquered by the
Thuringians.

now the advantage; the young Conrad, notwithstanding the most surprising efforts of valour, found his troops giving way in every direction, and was at last obliged to quit the field, and to retire with the utmost haste into Swabia, before he attempted to rally the fugitives. This battle was fought on the 26th of July, 1246. It had the effect of bringing many over to the interests of the landgrave, and enabled him to get possession of several of the fortified places, which till then were in the keeping of Frederick's supporters.

The emperor himself continued to carry on the war in Italy, but fortune seemed to have abandoned him in his old age. The Guelphs, who adhered most firmly to the Pope, surprised a number of his cities; and when he found that his influence was declining, he availed himself of the death of his rival the

Frederick tries to
make peace, on the
death of the Land-
grave.

landgrave*, to try and make up matters with the court of Rome. The King of France agreed to become the mediator, but St. Louis failed in changing the sentiments of the inflexible prelate, at the head of that court. The Duke of Gueldres, and the Duke of

* Henry Ruspo died in 1247.

Brabant, were respectively solicited to stand for the vacant throne, and on their refusal, it was offered to the King of England, and afterwards to the King of Norway, but William, Count of Holland and Friesland, was the only prince found willing to risk a contest with the veteran Frederick, even in his present humbled condition.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1247.

William, Count of
Holland, elected
king.

The King of Bohemia, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Brabant, gave their suffrages to the Count of Holland, at the desire of the Duke of Brunswick, who was his immediate patron, and he was elected at Neritz, in October, 1247; but the cities on the Rhine, the duchies of Swabia and Bavaria, with the greater part of Germany, continued to support Frederick and his son Conrad. William, after his election, proceeded to Cologne, where the Pope's legate created him a chevalier.

Frederick seeing now that there was no hope of a reconciliation, entered upon a fresh campaign, with the desperate energy of one whose all was at stake. He got possession of the greatest portion of the cities in Lombardy and Tuscany, while his illegitimate son Hentz ravaged the territory of Bologna; but the latter

Frederick makes a
last effort to retrieve
his affairs:

Loses his illegitimate
son.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1248.

was overcome, made a prisoner, and so badly treated by the Bolognois, that he died in confinement. The loss of this son, and the dispersion of his army, had a powerful effect upon the spirits of the emperor. He found, too, his own army diminishing in numbers, without any prospect of a reinforcement from Germany, where the party of his rival was daily gaining ground, and where it required all the zeal and activity of Conrad to keep the field; he was therefore obliged to yield to circumstances, and to remain upon the defensive, waiting with anxiety for some more favourable turn in his affairs.

In Germany, the newly-elected king had a force greatly superior to that of Conrad, who was obliged to shut himself up in Aix-la-Chapelle, and where he was besieged for the space of six months; but being reduced to the last extremity, he allowed the city to capitulate, and William of Holland entered it as a conqueror on the 1st of November, 1248, and was crowned by the Archbishop of Cologne, as King of the Romans.

William crowned:

From the moment it was known that the ceremony of his coronation had taken place,

the cities of Bonn, Coblentz, Mentz, and Strasburg declared in his favour, and the whole of Germany began to take a part in this civil war.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1248.

Frederick became harassed on all sides, but what affected him most, was the treachery of his chancellor, who, in concert with a Jew physician, had engaged to destroy him by poison, for the paltry reward of a sum of money, promised him by the Italian nobles. Fortunately, the treason was discovered; the physician suffered death, and the chancellor had his eyes put out; but Frederick was greatly afflicted to find himself thus betrayed by the person he had most trusted.

Treachery of Frederick's chancellor:

His health began to suffer, and he resolved to make another and a last attempt at a reconciliation. He sent propositions to the Pope, which were generally approved of, and not only considered just, but most advantageous to the holy see. Yet they were rejected, and Frederick was again compelled to have recourse to the sword. He took Parma and Bologna, and received the submission of Avignon, and, as the way was open to Lyons, where Innocent held his court, he determined to follow the enemy to his own strong-hold. He was obliged, however, to wait for a reinforcement of Greeks, before he

Frederick's health suffers:

He makes propositions to the Pope:

They are rejected, and he resolves to march upon Lyons.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1250.

gave orders for the advance, but every thing seemed now to promise a successful issue to this campaign.

Frederick's death.

The Italians, worn out with their domestic broils, were no longer able to continue in arms against him, and every day brought him an account of some city or province that had returned to its allegiance. But he was not long permitted to enjoy this happy change in his favour, as he was carried off by a sudden illness on the 13th of December, 1250, in the fifty-fifth or fifty-sixth year of his age, leaving Germany divided in opinion, between the claims of Conrad, his eldest son, and those of William, Count of Holland, who had both been elected Kings of the Romans.

William, at Brunswick, marries the daughter of Otho :

The majority of the lay princes were in favour of Conrad ; but the prelates were unanimous in supporting William, who, after his coronation, had retired with Otho to the city of Brunswick, and on the 25th of January, 1251, had espoused Elizabeth, the lovely daughter of his illustrious patron.

The ceremony of their marriage had been performed with great splendour, but was followed by an accident, which had nearly proved

fatal to the royal pair. They had retired to the nuptial couch, and the revelry of the night was just beginning to subside, when it was discovered that the palace was on fire. The flames spread with such rapidity, that they had hardly time to escape with their lives.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1251.

The palace consumed by fire after the marriage feast :

Soon after his marriage, William went on a visit to the Pope at Lyons; he was accompanied by the Archbishop of Treves, escorted by sixty cavaliers, and received by his holiness with every mark of esteem and affection. They had several long conferences together. Innocent promised him the imperial crown, and after recommending the churches in Germany to his special protection, they separated, the Pope for Italy, and William on his return to Brunswick, where it appears, from various documents which bear his signature, that he made this city his residence for upwards of twelve months. He was too much occupied, however, in a petty warfare with the Countess of Hainault, to make much progress in the conquest of Germany, though he did not altogether neglect his interests in that country. His party was greatly augmented, by the countenance he gave to that league, which the free cities of the empire began

William visits the Pope at Lyons.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1251.

Origin of the Hanseatic league.

to form about this period, for the protection of their nearly ruined commerce.

The lords of Germany, secure in their detached castles, had been long accustomed to way-lay the caravans of the merchants, and pillage them at discretion. The warehouses of the great cities had become empty, and all trade was at an end, when Waldboord, a citizen of Mentz, conceived the design of forming a league among the cities themselves, for the purpose of protecting their rights and privileges. Mentz, Worms, Spires, Frankfort, and other cities, were persuaded by his representations, to unite and raise a body of troops to protect the rivers and highways, and the success which attended their measures induced others to join them, so that in a short time they became a very powerful confederation. This was the origin of the Hanseatic league; the articles of which were submitted to William, and sanctioned by him; but it is curious to remark, that neither Lubec nor Hamburg, nor any of the cities of Lower Saxony joined this confederation in the first instance, though, from the near neighbourhood of the Danes, they were more exposed to plunder than any others.

William had intimated to the princes of Germany, his desire to meet them in a general diet at Frankfort, against the Feast of St. John the Baptist, 1252, and he was preparing to leave Brunswick with his father-in-law, for the purpose of being present at this assembly, when Otho was suddenly taken unwell, and expired on the 9th of June.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1251.

Diet called at Frankfort.

Otho of Brunswick dies suddenly:

Otho was only in his fifty-second year when he died. He was a prince of more solid than shining parts, and we must admire the prudence with which he conducted himself in the most trying times, and with temptations which few could have resisted. Had he been ambitious, he might have left a more splendid name, and his memory would have been connected with the most memorable events in the history of his day; but satisfied with the lot which providence had assigned him, he spent his life in ameliorating the condition of the people committed to his charge, and in watching over the welfare of his country and family. By the Princess Matilda of Brandenburg, who survived him, and took up her residence at Luncburg, he had four sons and five daughters; Helen, his eldest daughter, was married to Albert,

His character:

And family.

BOOK VI.

A.D. 1252.

Duke of Saxony; Matilda was the wife of Henry, Count of Ascanio; Elizabeth, celebrated for her beauty and virtue, was Queen of Germany; Adelaide was married to the Landgrave of Hesse, and Agnes died a virgin in the cloister of Quedlingburg. His sons, Albert and John, succeeded him in the government of Brunswick and Luneburg; Otho was made Bishop of Hildesheim, and Conrad Bishop of Verden. His remains were in the first instance interred at Luneburg, but afterwards transferred to Brunswick.

BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST DIVISION
OF THE HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK AND LUNEBURG.

ALBERT, the eldest son, on the death of his father, Otho the *Child*, succeeded to the government of the duchy of Brunswick and Luneburg. Born in 1236, he was yet young in years, but he was considered of an age sufficient to entitle him to take his place in the diet at Frankfurt. Accordingly, we find that he accompanied his brother-in-law, the King of the Romans, to that city, where, in the presence of the princes of the empire, he was invested by him with the states of his family.

From the prudence and care with which Otho had watched over the government of his duchy, during the latter years of his reign, these states enjoyed a degree of peace and prosperity, that formed a striking contrast to the anarchy and civil war which everywhere existed around them ; and Albert, from the high consideration in which his father had been held,

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1252.

History of Albert
the Great :

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1252.

his real or supposed influence with the emperor, and we may add, his own very superior talents, had acquired, notwithstanding his youth, so much weight and consideration among his equals, that when only seventeen years of age, we find him engaged in mediating between the King of Denmark and the Duke of Sleswick, whose quarrels kept the northern frontier in alarm, and had added greatly to the disorders that prevailed in the heart of the empire. He succeeded, we are told, in effecting a peace between these contending parties, and afterwards turned his thoughts to the best means of restoring tranquillity to Germany, which at that time happened to be deserted by both the candidates for the crown.

The state of Germany at this time.

Conrad was in the south, fighting against the Pope for the kingdom of Sicily, and William was sacrificing the important interests of the empire to his private feelings, as Count of Holland, and wasting his treasure and the blood of his subjects, in an attempt to establish his brother-in-law, John De Avenes, in the countries of Hainault and Flanders. Albert tried to produce something like a union among the princes in favour of William, who, not-

withstanding, that he paid more attention than was proper to his private concerns, still conducted himself towards the Germanic body with so much wisdom and liberality, that he daily became more popular, and his party increased in strength. Conrad, on the other hand, who had been remarkable for his prudence and good management during his father's lifetime, seemed now perfectly unequal to the difficulties with which he was surrounded. He had become so severe in his judgments, that they often degenerated into cruelty, and so suspicious of his friends, that even the Sicilians began to withdraw from him ; and therefore we cannot be surprised that his influence had declined in Germany.

Manfred, the illegitimate brother of Conrad, had been appointed governor of Naples, and had become rather popular by his good management : this was no sooner known, than he was removed from all his employments. Henry, his only legitimate brother, was beloved because he was of a mild and amiable disposition ; this was sufficient to increase the king's hatred, and he was cut off so very suddenly, that it was thought he had been poisoned.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1253.

William gains ground :

Conrad loses his friends :

BOOK VII. Blinded by his passions, or rather, we should
 say, the complicated state of his affairs had
 A.D. 1254. overwhelmed his reason, this son of Frederick
 II. was fast verging to destruction, when, fortu-
 His death. nately, he was taken from the world, in the
 twenty-sixth year of his age, and third year of
 his reign as King of Sicily. He left one child,
 Conradin, whose end was still more unfortunate,
 but though some of the electors did hold out
 for the rights of hereditary succession, this
 prince could never be considered as any com-
 petitor with William of Holland. The latter
 would soon have secured the unanimous suf-
 frages of the German princes, and been ho-
 noured with the imperial crown, had his life
 William sole King been prolonged. But unfortunately, as we have
 of the Romans: already remarked, he could not help feeling as
 Count of Holland, when he ought to have acted
 as King of Germany.

There had long existed a spirit of rivalry be-
 tween the Hollanders and the people of Fries-
 land, and William, now elevated far above the
 chief of the neighbouring state, was determined
 to subject them to the authority of the Counts
 of Holland, under pretence of compelling them
 to submit to the laws of the empire. William had

great courage and enough of ambition, but he wanted support in this contest. A war in Friesland was foreign to the interests of the empire, and the princes worn out with the continuance of that contest, in which it had been absolutely necessary for them to engage, refused to take any part in what could only gratify the feelings of the Count of Holland; he was therefore left to depend upon his own people. He entered Friesland at the commencement of the winter of 1255, with an army of Hollanders; and when he understood that the enemy were collected at a place called Hockswende, he was so impatient to engage them, that he would not wait for the arrival of his infantry. He hastened across a frozen lake or marsh at the head of the troops that were with him, in order that he might attack them in front, while his general, to whom he had sent directions, should take them in flank, and the rapidity of his advance prevented him from taking the precautions necessary in a march so full of danger. He had advanced upon the ice with too great a force, and consequently it gave way, involving him and the troops that accompanied him in certain destruction.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1255.

His war with the
people of Fries-
land:

In which he is killed.

The Frisons, who lay in ambush, no sooner

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1255.

saw the disaster which they had anticipated, than they fell upon the drowning squadrons, and in the general massacre, the king was slain without his being recognised. Some time afterwards his body was sought for, taken up, and sent to Middleburg in the Island of Walcheren, where it was interred in the tomb of his fathers.

Disorder continues
to prevail in the em-
pire.

Had William lived, he would soon have secured the tranquillity of the empire, but his unfortunate death at that moment, made peace appear more remote than ever. The people and the wealth of Germany were consumed in petty broils and domestic feuds, and circumstances the most ridiculous often gave occasion for a civil war: for example, the Baron of Asseburg, whose estates lay in the Duchy of Brunswick, was desirous of an excuse for throwing off his allegiance, and as the armorial bearing of the duke, his sovereign, was a lion, and his own a *bear*, he got some herald to paint a standard with a bear on the back of a lion, pulling him by the ears. This insult was a sufficient excuse for Albert to take up arms, and it was the cause of a civil war in the duchy of Brunswick, which lasted nearly three years, and involved in ruin not only the Baron of

Anecdote of the Ba-
ron of Asseburg.

Assemburg, but many others, among whom were the Lords of Wolfenbittel, and the Counts of Everstein. The former was brought into the contest by the Bishop of Hildesheim, and the latter at the instigation of the Archbishop of Mentz.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1255.

Civil wars in Brunswick:

The young Duke of Brunswick distinguished himself greatly, if distinction it can be called, in these petty wars, and added considerably to his original states by the conquests which he made. The principality of Wolfenbittel was an acquisition made at this time, and the territories of the Count of Everstein, who was taken and hanged, were incorporated with the principality of Göttingen. The time, indeed, appeared so favourable for each prince to aggrandize himself, that there seemed to be no desire whatever to give the empire a head, and it was not until the confederated cities had taken up the subject that they gave it any attention.

Additions made to the duchy.

These cities called earnestly upon the princes to meet and elect a king, and in an assembly which they held at Mentz, they declared that if the princes could not agree in their choice, or again elected two sovereigns, the confederates would not acknowledge the authority of

The Hanse towns interfere for the election of a king:

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1255.

Difficulties regard-
ing the election:

either one or the other ; nor would they suffer them to enter any of their states. The princes, in conformity to this summons of the cities, met at Frankfort, where it was mooted that the empire might be made a republic ; but as the greater number were ambitious of royal rank, it was carried by the vote, that no change should be made in the form of the government. They decided further, that they should elect a king ; but to fix on any one of their own number for that office was impossible. Each of the great princes had his party, and these were so equally balanced, that no one could calculate upon a majority, far less for an unanimity of votes.

It became now the policy of the prelates to destroy these petty leagues of the lay princes, and for that purpose the Archbishop of Cologne and the Archbishop of Mentz moved, that to avoid all cause of jealousy among the princes of the empire, they ought for the present to select a foreigner. It was suspected that these prelates had been bribed ; but as all parties concurred in acknowledging the purity and honour of the Archbishop of Treves, they unanimously agreed to allow him to name the sovereign. Accordingly, with the consent of the Duke of Saxony,

and the assistance of the Bishops of Worms and Spire, he named Alfonso, King of Castile. A majority of those present at the diet approved highly of this choice, and ambassadors were despatched to offer the crown of Germany to that prince.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1255.

Alfonso of Castile
named:

Alfonso was the son of Ferdinand III., King of Castile, and Beatrix of Swabia, the daughter of the emperor Philip. He had therefore some hereditary claim to the notice of the electors; but besides this, he was a man of science, and the most celebrated astronomer of his day, and what was perhaps of more effect, one of the richest princes of the age. Yet the dissentients to his election were numerous. The Archbishops of Cologne and Mentz, the Duke of Bavaria, the Duke of Brunswick, and others, met in their turn, and elected Richard, Earl of Cornwall in England, the brother of Henry III.

Richard, Earl of
Cornwall, elected
also:

It is said that the money of England bought the election of the Earl of Cornwall, and that more than 700,000*l.* sterling, nearly equal to millions in the present day, were sent to Germany on this occasion. But we rather believe, with the chronicles of England, that it was the expectation of his wealth, rather than the re-

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1257.

ceipt of it, that secured his election, and that Richard did not send his money to Germany, but carried it with him. We are bound to believe also, that there was some sincerity in his refusing to accept the crown, and some truth in his assertion when he did accept it, “that it was neither from motives of ambition or avarice, but a desire to restore tranquillity and make justice govern.”

Richard is crowned
at Aix-la-Chapelle:

Richard proceeded to Germany, with the deputation which had come over to receive him, and took up his residence at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was crowned by the Archbishop of Cologne on the 17th of May, 1257. In the meantime, Frederick Duke of Lorraine, who had been deputed to convey to Alfonso the news of his election, was well received at the court of that prince, but it was with difficulty he could prevail upon him to give his consent to the act of his friends. Alfonso saw distinctly that the divided state of the empire would prove the foundation of another civil war, and that in a kingdom so situated, the sovereign could exercise very little authority.

Both parties sent ambassadors to the Pope, to solicit his sanction to their choice, but the

pontiff took time to deliberate on the matter, under a pretence of examining if the elections had been made agreeable to the canons.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1257.

Richard, in the meantime, was making a tour of the provinces, and had been favourably received in most places. The cities of Worms, Spire, and Strasburg received him with all the honours due to the emperor. As long as his money lasted, we find that he had support and followers of all ranks, but when it began to fail, they fell off, and becoming disgusted with the deceit which was daily practised, he left the country, and never returned to it.

Is favourably received in Germany for a time:

Henry III., whose attachment to the family of Brunswick was steady and sincere, recommended the young duke to his brother, and Albert was one of those who enjoyed the friendship and perfect confidence of Richard; but when the Earl of Cornwall left Germany, Albert took little interest in the affairs of the empire. He had married, in 1254, a princess of Brabant, and he spent his time in regulating his domestic concerns. In 1259, the city of Hameln on the Weser claimed his protection, in order that it might escape from the exactions of the Bishop of Minden, to whom

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1259.

it had been sold by the Abbot of Fulda; and about the same time, a dispute arose between Erick, Duke of Sleswick, and the regent of Denmark, which again called for the interference of the Duke of Brunswick. As it is materially connected with his domestic history, it requires a little more of our attention than it might otherwise do.

Albert supports the
regent of Denmark :

Christopher I., at his death this year, left the kingdom of Denmark to his son Erick, who, being a minor, was put under the guardianship of his mother, Queen Margaret, a princess of Pomerania. The succession, however, was disputed by Jarrimin, Prince of Rugen, but through the good offices of the Elector of Brandenburg, who was married to the young king's aunt, he was received and acknowledged by the states of the kingdom, and his mother was allowed to conduct the government. This she did with great prudence; but Erick, the son of Abel (the elder brother of Christopher, who had also enjoyed the crown for a few years,) having advanced a claim to the duchy of Sleswick, which had become vacant, was told he might have it, if he would receive the investiture as a gift from his young cousin; but

that his claim of right could not be admitted. Erick unfortunately considered himself not only entitled as a matter of right to this duchy, but, in fact, the legal heir to the crown itself, if hereditary succession had been allowed, and of course refused to accept of the investiture upon any such terms. He was supported by the Counts of Holstein, who were his uncles, and they having placed a force at his command, he immediately declared war against the regent. Queen Margaret, on her part, levied troops also, and marched upon the disputed duchy, where she encountered her enemies, and unfortunately was taken prisoner, with the king her son.

The Duke of Brunswick no sooner heard of this disaster, than as the friend and ally of the queen-mother, he collected his troops, and advanced with them into Holstein. He surprised the city of Ploen, captured by assault that of Kiel, and made such rapid progress in destroying the country, that Erick and his uncles were glad to propose terms of accommodation. The queen was immediately set at liberty, and allowed to return to Denmark, and Albert having accompanied her, was in-

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1259.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1259.

Is made Governor
of the kingdom :

trusted with the administration of the affairs of the kingdom, until the king should be at liberty. He found the country in great disorder; the nobles divided into factions, and the cities engaged in civil broils, but his great talents and upright conduct being known and appreciated, the contending parties submitted their differences to his decision, and he succeeded in reconciling them to each other. Through his mediation, and the exertions of the queen, the king was transferred from the Castle of Alsen, where he had been confined, to the court of Brandenburg; but under a promise that he should remain there until six thousand marks of silver were paid for his ransom.

Albert, in addition to his being administrator for the king, had the immediate government of several of the Danish islands and provinces committed to his care, and in his zeal to raise the money for the king's ransom, he incurred the displeasure of the people of Zealand. They flew to arms, and attacked the Castle of Elsinour, where he resided, and as they carried it by assault, he had some difficulty in making his escape. Luckily, he found

But is obliged to
leave it in haste :

in the port a small vessel belonging to Lubeck, and getting on board, he immediately set sail for his own shores.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1262.

During his absence in Denmark, Elizabeth of Brabant, his first duchess, died, and he had scarcely reached his capital, when he was called upon to take a part in another civil war which existed among her relations, in consequence of the disputed succession of Thuringen.

On the death of Henry Raspo, Landgrave of Thuringen, and nominal King of the Romans, the male line of that family became extinct; but Louis, his only brother, who died before him, left a daughter, who married the Duke of Brabant, and was the mother of the Duchess of Brunswick, and Henry surnamed the Infant; while Jutta his only sister, who married the Margrave of Misnia, had left a son, the reigning margrave. The question then was, whether the brother's daughter, or the sister's son, became the heir of their uncle's states. The Duke of Brunswick took the field in support of his own, and the claims of Brabant, but in the contest was taken prisoner, and kept in confinement for eighteen months, and besides paying eight thousand marks of silver as a ransom,

He engages in a dispute about the succession to Thuringen:

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1264.

had to surrender several towns and states, which have ever since remained under the dominion of Hesse.

On his return to his capital, after his long imprisonment, he found that a set of religious fanatics from the kingdom of Bohemia, had taken up their residence in the city of Brunswick. It was their practice to appear in the streets with masks on their faces, and naked to the middle, and with scourges to lacerate their bodies, pretending it was the best manner of doing penance for their sins. At length, it was discovered that numbers of these masked penitents were accustomed to meet at night and take comfort for their sufferings during the day, and on account of these irregularities they were banished from the city, and their practices forbidden.

Banishes from his states a set of fanatics.

The disorders throughout Germany had now arisen to so great a height, that it had become absolutely necessary for the princes to adopt some measures for their suppression; but while the empire remained without an efficient head, all attempts at reformation they knew must prove abortive. In 1265, Albert, Landgrave of Thuringen, Otho, Margrave of Brandenburg,

Albert, Duke of Brunswick, with his brother John, the Margrave of Misnia, and the Counts of Holstein, met at Quedlingburg, to consider on some remedy for the suppression of the existing abuses. They entered into a treaty, by which they regulated the number of troops each prince should keep on foot, for the protection of the high-ways, and the dispersion of the brigands; but its terms were little attended to. Albert and Otho preferred a foreign war, to the tame duty of directing a domestic police; and as the Teutonic knights were still engaged with the pagan Prussians, and the conquest and conversion of the latter people, had lately been preached in the provinces, as an undertaking worthy of Christian soldiers, they determined to take up the cause of the cross.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1265.

Albert joins the
Teutonic Knights:

At this critical moment it became known that the Grand Master and many of his valiant knights had fallen in an action with the infidels, and that the remainder of their force was shut up in the fortress of Culm, which was in danger of being taken every hour. The Duke of Brunswick therefore, and the Margrave of Brandenburg levied forces with all diligence, and marched to the relief of the besieged. But

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1265.

Has an action before
Culm :

the Prussian commander had received intelligence of their advance, and he withdrew a part of his army from before the place, and by a circuitous rout, got into the rear of the Brunswickers, which Albert and Otho were not aware of, until they found themselves attacked. The defence, however, was as brave as the attack was sudden, and though night obliged them to separate before either party could claim a victory, the next morning found them ready to renew the contest.

A report had prevailed during the night, that it was the intention of the Duke of Brunswick to retreat ; this created some alarm, but Albert, mounting his horse, rode through the ranks, and assured them that he would keep his ground while he had a soldier alive. At day-light, a detachment of four hundred Prussian cavalry began to amuse the Christians by skirmishing on their flanks ; but their main army being divided into three corps, attacked the camp at different points. They had succeeded in making an impression upon the left of Albert's entrenchment, and a Prussian grenadier had actually planted their colours within his works, when a body of the Brandenburg

troops coming to his assistance, the assailants were driven back. The Prussian general, finding, at last, that he was likely to lose the day, sounded a parley, and offered to treat. His offer was accepted, and it was arranged that the commanders should meet on the ground between the two armies. A convention was there entered into, by which the Prussians and Lithuanians bound themselves to raise the siege of Culm, and give up the plunder they had taken during the campaign, as also to set their Christian prisoners at liberty, and no longer to trouble the knights, or attack the cities that belonged to their order.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1265.

Which ends in a convention.

The two princes, having obtained these favourable conditions for the Teutonic knights, returned to their own dominions; where Albert finding his states at peace, and enjoying tranquillity, embarked for England to support his cousins and friends, the king and emperor, who were at that time prisoners in the hands of Simon Monfort, Earl of Leicester, their brother-in-law. There is some probability that he was present at the battle of Evesham, where Prince Edward gained the victory, and where De Monfort and his eldest son were

Albert visits England.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1267.

Letters patent of
Henry III. to the
city of Lubeck.

slain ; for we find that the moment King Henry was at liberty, Albert proceeded with the prince to the court at Winchester, where he soon fell in love with the Princess Adelaide, of Monferret, and where, having sought, he obtained her in marriage, with the promise of a princely dower from Edward, Prince of Wales. They received many presents from the king and queen, and on this occasion, Henry III. granted letters patent to the cities of Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, giving to the merchants of these cities privileges which very few if any other foreigners enjoyed in England. We shall insert here, a translation of the letters patent granted to Lubeck in 1267, to shew the nature of their commerce and privileges, and because they are so immediately connected with our family annals.

“ Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to all to whom the present letters may come greeting. Know ye, that we, at the urgent request of the illustrious Prince Albert, Duke of Brunswick, our dear relative, have granted to the burgesses and merchants of Lubeck, the undermentioned privileges, *videlicet*,

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A.D. 1267.

that neither they nor their goods, wherever they may be found in our dominions, shall be arrested for any debt, for which the securities or principal debtors do not make their appearance, unless, peradventure, the debtors themselves have in their possession, funds from which their debts may be paid in whole or in part; or that the burgesses of Lubeck, by whom the city is governed, shall fail in doing justice to those who are present in our dominions, as from this may reasonably be made appear. And further, that the said merchants and burgesses when about to go abroad, may have security of their servants and goods found in their hands, or deposited by these servants in any other place, if they can sufficiently prove them to be their property, they shall not be lost. We grant also, to the aforesaid merchants and burgesses, that whatever goods they may bring into our dominions, shall not be seized for our service, until they or their servants are immediately paid the full value for the same, except what becomes our due as ancient prizes.

“ Furthermore we, also grant, in as far as in us lies, to the said burgesses and merchants, that

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they shall have their consulate, (*Hansa*,) upon paying five shillings, to be reckoned in the same manner as the merchants and burgesses of Cologne have their consulate, and used in times long past to count and reckon; if so be that the said burgesses and merchants pay to us and our heirs the usual dues. In testimony of which we have caused these letters patent to be written, and have ordered that they shall remain in force as long as the city of Lubeck shall remain under the dominion and protection of the said duke.—Witness, I myself, at Westminster, this 5th day of January, in the 41st year of our reign.—“Signed HENRY.”

To Hamburgh, Henry granted about the same time that they should have “*Hansam suam per se ipsos*,” throughout the whole kingdom for ever. We have here a strong evidence, that the subjects (as well as the sovereigns) of the two countries of England and Brunswick were even then upon the most friendly footing, and enjoyed advantages in each other’s states, which no other people were allowed.

Urban IV. had promised to decide on the claims of the rival candidates, respecting the crown of Germany, before the Feast of St. Andrew in 1265,

but died unfortunately before that period arrived, and his successor Clement IV. requiring time to consider the matter, it was settled that a final judgment should be given in 1268. But in the mean time, the empire was fast verging to ruin.

Albert continued to support the interests of the Earl of Cornwall, though his chief attention, after his return to Brunswick, was directed to the preservation of his own states. A pernicious law code, founded upon the Roman, which, at a very early period, had been introduced into the German empire, gave every son a right to claim an equal portion of his father's goods, and the advantage of primogeniture availed nothing; and though Albert had hitherto been permitted to govern the united duchy of Brunswick and Luneburg, as if entitled to do so, in right of his birth, he had three brothers, any one of whom might have disputed his title. In 1261, it is true, he had got his brother Otho appointed Bishop of Hildesheim, and in 1267, his youngest brother Conrad, was made Archbishop of Verden. But his brother John still remained to interrupt the tranquillity of his reign, and by his demand at this time to have the half of his father's do-

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1269.

BOOK VII. minions, he at once lessened the influence and
 A.D. 1269. destroyed the unity of the hitherto unrivalled
 House of Guelph.

John had married in 1265, a Princess of Holstein Schaumburg, and as he was now the father of a son and a daughter, it was no doubt his anxiety to leave them independent, that made him insist upon his legal rights. Under the mediation of Otho, Margrave of Brandenburg, their mother's brother, they met beside an old tree in the neighbourhood of Quedlingburg, and there decided that the duchy should be divided between them.

Albert divides his states with his brother John:

"This is the form," says the deed by which that division was accomplished, "in which, through the mediation of the illustrious Prince Otho, Marquis of Brandenburg, the illustrious Princes Albert and John, Dukes of Brunswick, in the presence of their respective counsellors, have agreed to divide their states, and sovereign authority.

The manner in which the duchy was divided:

"On the Friday before St. Jude, the said dukes having committed to the chance of the dice, who should have the privilege of equally dividing their states and government, and who should have the power of choosing first, when

such division was made ; it fell to the lot of Duke Albert to make the division. He was determined to do this, so as to separate as much as possible the authority and the vassals of each prince, in order that the one might not suffer from the oppression of the other.

“Brunswick constituting a special government, and Luneburg being another by itself, he decided that Celle should be united to the one, and Giffhorn to the other, and that this should stand as the basis of his division. That the abbeys of St. Egedius at Brunswick, and St. Peter at Lütter should belong to him who got the Duchy of Brunswick, but that those of Luneburg and Northeim, and the provostship of Alsburg should form a part of what was now to be called the Duchy of Luneburg. All the other deaneries and prebendaries were to belong alternately to both princes. Thus, Duke John should name to the first vacant deanery or prebendary, and Duke Albert have the patronage of the next church preferment ; but the church livings within their respective dominions, each might dispose of as he pleased ; in like manner, each should have the power of promoting to the holy offices, such of his subjects as were qua-

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—
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lified, according as the Lord might inspire him.

“The island which was called Ghyslenwerder, and all the property which they had in the cities of Hoya and Hameln, were to remain undivided; likewise all the property they possessed in Denmark, and all the advantages that might accrue to them from that kingdom, were to be held in common. Above all, he decided that they should not divide their freemen, and that all officers residing out of their respective dominions should be considered as belonging to both. That the city of Brunswick should be their joint property, and that both should take their title from it.” Duke Albert was allowed, till the Friday before the Feast of St. Walburg next to come, to complete his arrangements, but on that day, in the usual place, *under the shade of the lofty tree**, his decision must be

* The expression in this old deed, that Albert was to deliver his sentence in the usual place, *and under the lofty tree*, introduces us to the knowledge of a custom which has long been lost sight of, but which claims the attention of some able antiquary.

In what the true-born Saxon must consider the golden age of his country's greatness, and his nation's independence; when every chief was considered the father of his people, and before kings had thought it necessary to seclude themselves from the eyes of the multitude, or to delegate their authority to pensioned judges; the monarchs of Saxony were accustomed to meet their subjects

declared, or if it was not given on the said day, it was then to be declared at Brunswick. It was agreed further, that as soon as the scheme of division should be delivered, Duke John would be allowed till the Ascension to deliberate, but that on or before that day, he must decide on which portion he selected. Besides these arrangements, all debts which they were bound to pay, or promises which had been made by either of them, or by their servants, were to be held valid, and borne equally by both; and that these engagements might be fully observed, and the covenants of this writing fulfilled, each of the dukes promised before the Marquis Otho, their uncle, that they approved of its contents, and

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1269.

in the open field, and from under the shade of some lofty linden tree, promulgate those laws by which the tribes were to be governed, and decide in person on the complaints brought before them. The Saxon Tree of Justice grew in the neighbourhood of Quedlingburg, and in all the old armorial bearings of the House of Guelph, the tree and the horse are the crest of Brunswick; which we consider as strong a proof as any furnished by chronicle or record, that the princes of this house were the true representatives of the ancient Saxon kings. We regret much that the tree is not in the emblem of the illustrious order of knighthood, so lately instituted by the sovereign of Hanover, in honour of that name which alone belongs to his dynasty. That tree under which Wittekind had sat, and on which his shield was hung, when his own and his nation's fate must often have formed the subject of their deliberations, ought not to have been omitted, but should have graced the field on which the white horse was emblazoned.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1269.

having signed it, they sealed it with their seals, at Brunswick, in the year 1267, on the Friday before (*St. Jude.*)”

John selects Lune-
burg.

When the day arrived for Duke John to declare his choice, he made it known that he had selected Luneburg; Albert, therefore, is to be considered for the future as Duke of Brunswick-Brunswick, and John as Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg; though the latter is generally considered in the chronicles of his house, as the origin of the Dukes of Luneburg.

We shall too often, in the sequel of their history, have occasion to revert to the ruinous consequences of this pernicious law, to render any further remarks necessary here, and therefore we proceed with the history of Albert, who though his dominions were curtailed, was not subdued in spirit, and who from the disorders which prevailed in the country had soon an opportunity of adding to his territories.

Albert adds to his
states.

The Count of Schwerin having committed some depredations on the Brunswick frontier, was attacked by Albert, and driven back to the Baltic, and the states which he held on the banks of the Elbe were seized, and annexed to the Duchy of Brunswick. A similar aggression

led to the acquisition of Grubenhagen, which was joined to Brunswick in 1270, and although the states of the duchy had been equally divided, this portion soon became enlarged, while that of the younger brother, who was a quiet and indolent prince, remained in its original condition; but the troubles in Germany were now drawing to an end.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1270.

The death of the Earl of Cornwall, in 1272, left the throne vacant; for though he had never returned to the continent from the moment he first left it, he was still considered as king by a majority of the princes, and having been crowned, his claims were always held preferable to those of Alfonso. The Pope, Gregory X., declared after Richard's death, that the pretensions of the King of Castile could not be admitted, and therefore urged the princes to elect a new emperor. They having no longer an excuse for delay, fixed on the King of Bohemia, and made him an offer of the crown; but this prince, who had been one of Richard's greatest supporters, refused to accept it. The electors, however, had now opened their eyes to the miserable state of the country, and were determined to find a person who would accept their scarcely

The death of the
Earl of Cornwall
leaves the crown
vacant:

It is offered to the
King of Bohemia.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1273.

to be coveted diadem ; and fortunately for Europe, they fixed upon a prince who was not only willing to accept, but who had talents to maintain the dignity of the crown.

In September, 1273, a diet was held at Frankfurt, where the Dukes of Brunswick, and almost all the princes of the empire, except the King of Bohemia and the Duke of Bavaria, who sent their ambassadors, attended in person. Three princes were put in nomination by the Count of the Tyrol,—the Count of Goretz, the Count of Hapsburg, and the Duke of Carinthia. The Archbishop of Mentz, as Chancellor of the Empire, declared for Rudolph, Count of Hapsburg, but was opposed by some, who had been bribed, and by others who knew not, or who knowing cared not for, the talents of this prince ; but as a debate might occasion delay, it was agreed that Louis the Severe, Duke of Bavaria, should name which of the three was to be King of Germany. Louis named Rudolph, and the electors having signified their approbation, he was immediately proclaimed, and Frederick, Burgrave of Nuremberg, his cousin, was deputed to convey to him the act of his election. Rudolph was already distinguished for his

Rudolph of Hapsburg elected emperor.

valour and his prudence. His patrimony compared with that of others was indeed small, but his renown and his authority in Switzerland and Alsace were great. He had been brought up at the Court of Frederick II., who was his god-father; and it is said that an astrologer predicted at a very early period of his life that he was destined to fill the imperial throne. He was the representative of one of those families that owed their rise to the patronage of the Guelphs. Rudolph the son of Albert, Count of Alsace, who received large grants of land from the Emperor Otho of Brunswick, and was raised by that emperor to the rank of a Landgrave, and made his Lieutenant in Upper Germany, was the grandfather of the present Rudolph. When called to the throne he was in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and immediately on receiving notice of his election, he left Basle with his family, and proceeded down the Rhine to Mentz. There he met the electors at the head of twenty thousand horse, who conducted him with great pomp to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was crowned in presence of the princes of the empire with all the usual solemnities. No one was more

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1273.

His character,

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1273.

And coronation.

satisfied with the choice which the electors had made than Albert of Brunswick, and Rudolph appears to have held this prince in very great esteem.

When, according to the usages of the empire, the time had arrived for the princes to swear allegiance and to receive the investment of their fiefs, a difficulty was started by those who had been adverse to Rudolph, that as he had not received the imperial sceptre, he could neither receive their homage, nor give them the investiture of their fiefs ; but with great presence of mind, snatching the crucifix from the altar, Rudolph declared that that sign, which had saved an entire world, should serve him for a sceptre. Accordingly, they submitted, did homage, and were all re-invested.

The only serious opposition which was made to Rudolph's establishment in the empire was by Ottocar, King of Bohemia, and the Duke of Bavaria ; but the latter was soon reduced to obedience, and the former was not long in being brought to terms. He gave up the Duchy of Austria, renounced Stiria and Carniola, and consented to do homage for his kingdom. Albert, who had long been the

friend and ally of Ottocar, was at great pains to bring about this arrangement. But the King shortly afterwards, in the absence of the Duke of Brunswick, repenting of the submission he had made, took the field with a considerable army, and attempted to regain possession of Austria. The Emperor, who was prepared for that event, marched in person to suppress the rebellion. Their armies met near Marcheck, in Austria, where they came to an engagement, and Ottocar, deserted by a great body of his troops, was slain in the contest. The Emperor immediately advanced into Moravia, where he encountered the troops of Otho, Marquis of Brandenburg, then advancing to the support of his uncle; but when made acquainted with his defeat and death, he hastened to secure his treasure, lest it should fall into the hands of Rudolph. The Emperor, finding that he had accomplished his object, caused it to be intimated to the Marquis that he was ready to give peace to Bohemia, when Otho, esteeming this an unusual mark of clemency in a victor, consented to negotiate. The terms agreed upon were, that Wencelaus, the son and successor of Ottocar, should marry

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1273.

The King of Bohemia opposes Rudolph:

And is slain.

Peace made with Bohemia.

BOOK VII. Jutta, the Emperor's daughter ; and as the
A.D. 1278. prince was only ten years of age, that the
Marquis of Brandenburg should remain regent
of the kingdom. This arrangement took place
in 1278.

In the previous year Rudolph had granted a charter to his son-in-law Albert, Duke of Saxony, and to Albert, Duke of Brunswick, constituting them joint guardians of the cities of Lubeck, Goslar, Mulhausen, Northausen, and of all the provinces of Saxony and Slavia. He gave them authority over all officers, freemen, and vassals in these cities and provinces, with permission to act as they might think proper for the good of the country and the advantage of the empire, with full powers to establish courts of justice, and to decide in all matters civil and criminal, the same as if he were present and had decided by his own person. This charter is dated at Vienna, in October, in the fourth year of Rudolph's reign.

Albert declines in
health.

Albert, though only in his forty-third year, began to find his health declining fast ; he therefore retired from public business, and occupied himself in arranging his private affairs. His brother John had died in 1277, and had left an

only son, Otho, who inherited his states, so that Albert had to provide for his own numerous family by a further division of that portion which had fallen to his share. By the Princess Adelaide, his second Duchess, he had become the father of six sons and one daughter. Fortunately three of his sons had entered the religious orders, and were thus provided for. Conrad and Lothaire were Commanders of the Knights of Malta, and Otho was a member of the Knights Templars ; but Henry, Albert, and William still remained to be portioned off as his successors in the duchy.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1278.

Albert's family.

On his death-bed, in 1279, Albert arranged that Henry should have the principality of Grubenhagen, which included the cities of Eymbach, Osterode, Hertzberg, Lutterberg, and Duderstade, with the county of Catelembourg, the mines of Clausthal, and the adjacent forests. Albert, his second son, was to have the city and principality of Gottingen, the county of Nordheim, with all that belonged to the Duchy of Brunswick on the Weser, the Neva, and the Fulda, the half of the salt-mines of Zell, and the province of Hanover ; while William, the third son, was to take Brunswick

A.D. 1279.

He subdivides his
states among his
sons :

BOOK VII.

—
A.D. 1279.

His death :

and Wolfenbuttell, with the country about Goslar. But though he established this as a permanent division for the immediate settlement of his three sons after his decease, he made no provision for their being bound to abide by this decree, nor for any future contingency as to their succeeding each other ; and accordingly we find that, as soon as they grew up, (for the eldest could not be more than thirteen years of age at his father's death this year,) Henry, who was dissatisfied with his portion of the Duchy, commenced a civil war against his brothers. He seized upon the Castle of Herlingsberg, which belonged to William, and placed in it a strong garrison of his own troops. His brothers, who were supported by the Bishop of Hildesheim, attacked this castle ; but understanding that Henry was advancing to its relief, Albert divided the army into two corps, and while he advanced to attack the left of his brother's force, he directed William with the other corps to march upon his right. Henry's troops were beaten and dispersed, and in the course of the winter they arranged their differences, and Herlingsberg was restored to William.

This civil war, however, laid the foundation

of a lasting enmity between the sons of Albert, and was the first proof of those evils to be apprehended from the bad policy of the prince in thus dividing his territory. The Duchy of Brunswick and Luneburg, which at its establishment was considered scarcely equal to the support of one prince, was now split into four sovereign principalities,—Grubenhagen, Göttingen, Brunswick, and Luneburg; and as the princes, though so nearly connected in blood, were not united in interests, their importance as members of the empire may be said to have sunk into insignificance.

The Duchess Adelaide, who survived her husband, appears to have felt most keenly this want of union among her sons. In a letter, which has been preserved by Rymer in his *English Acts*, she appeals to her cousin Edward I., and implores his protection and advice in regard to the management of her children, not forgetting, at the same time, to remind him that her dower still remained unpaid. This Princess afterwards married the Count of Schaumburg, and died in 1285.

In 1292, William, the younger of the three brothers, died unmarried, and it became a mat-

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1279.

The consequences of
that division.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1292.

ter of dispute which of the survivors should be considered his heir. It was a question which the sword alone could decide, and therefore, both had recourse to arms. Henry got possession of the city of Brunswick, and was favoured by the magistrates, but Albert had the common council and people on his side. After a considerable waste of blood and treasure, the former was driven from the city, and the latter succeeded in annexing the states of William to his principality of Gottingen. The reigning princes were thus reduced to three, but still they were too many for so confined a state.

In 1290, that is, two years previous to the death of William, the Princes of the House of Brunswick were present at a diet of the empire held at Hertfort, where the long-disputed cause about the succession of Thuringen

The Princes of Brunswick present at the settlement of Thuringen.

was finally settled. Thuringen, properly so called, was confirmed to Albert, the son of Henry the illustrious, Marquis of Misnia; while the Western portion of these states, under the name of Hesse, was given to the posterity of Henry, Duke of Brabant.

About this time Otho, Duke of Luneburg,

acquired by purchase the county of Danneberg, but for the future we find nothing remarkable in the lives of those princes who now reigned.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1279.

Henry, Duke of Grubenhagen, who was surnamed the Wonderful, married Agnes the daughter of Albert, Marquis of Misnia, and now Landgrave of Thuringen. Albert, Duke of Brunswick Gottingen, married Richenza, Princess of Werle in Mecklenberg; and Otho, Duke of Luneburg, whose surname was the Severe, married Matilda, daughter of Henry, Duke of Bavaria and Count Palatine. The first had four sons and five daughters; the second eight sons and two daughters; and the third four sons and one daughter.

Henry was the head of the House of Guelph, and the eldest born of the House of Brunswick. But as his brother Albert is the prince by whom the succession was eventually carried on (consequently the progenitor of the House of Hanover), his family will in the first place claim our attention.

From the moment that the dispute was settled about the succession to their brother William, there was little intercourse between the families of Grubenhagen and Gottingen, and

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1318.

Their succession.

when Albert died in 1318, he left the management of his states to his eldest and two youngest sons, Otho, Magnus, and Ernest. Otho had Brunswick and its dependencies, and took the general management, for his younger brothers; Ernest had Gottingen, and Magnus, on the death of Otho, without heirs, succeeded him at Brunswick.

Albert, who was the second son of the Duke of Gottingen, was promoted to the Bishoprick of Halberstadt, contrary to the will of the Pope, but supported by his family, he kept possession of the see, and held it for thirty-four years. He was often obliged to take the field against his enemies, and was more famed for his war-like exploits than for his piety as a pastor of the church. His brother Henry held the neighbouring see of Hildesheim, which he had to defend against the pretensions of the Count of Schaumburg, who was favoured by the Court of Rome.

Lothaire, another brother, and the fourth son of Albert II., became Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, and John the fifth son was also a member of that body. As this order of knighthood has been frequently mentioned, and had

now come to be governed by a prince of Brunswick, it may not be improper to lay before the reader a short account of its origin and history.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1318.

During the third crusade (1190), when the christian army was employed before Acre, then known as Ptolemais, the dysentery or bloody flux became prevalent among the troops, and great numbers were daily carried off by it. Some merchants of Bremen and Lubeck pitying the sufferings of their countrymen, associated themselves together, took the sails from their vessels and made tents for the sick to protect them against the inclemency of the weather, while they attended otherwise to their comforts, and waited upon them in person. The German princes who were in the camp were so much pleased with this mark of their countrymen's humanity, that they agreed to found an Order, whose peculiar duty it should be to attend upon their sick brethren. Pope Celestine III. granted a charter to this Order with many indulgencies, and as their first grand master was one Walpot, a German, it became known as the Teutonic or German Order of Knighthood.

Some account of the
Teutonic Order of
Knighthood.

The institution required that some of the

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1318.

members should be soldiers, and others ecclesiastics. A Teutonic knight had liberty to carry with him two shirts, two pair of breeches, one coat, and two cloaks. His shoes were to be plain, and his arms without silver. He was to sleep upon straw, and only to have a pillow to rest his head upon. He promised at his entrance into the order to attend upon the sick, to fight against the enemies of the cross in the Holy Land or elsewhere, faithfully to discharge whatever office he was called to, to assist at the chapter whenever it met, and never to quit the order as long as he lived. He also vowed chastity, and was not allowed to salute even his own mother. When the Christians were driven from the east, the grand master of this order established himself at Venice. From thence they were called upon in 1226 to assist in the conquest of the heathen Prussians, under an agreement with the King of Poland that they should have a portion of the country for their reward. They were fifty-three years employed in this holy warfare, and having at last succeeded in subduing and converting the heathens, they kept the whole country to themselves. They were often, as we have seen, assisted by the

Christian Princes in their neighbourhood, and by none more than the House of Brunswick. The grand master for the most part resided at Venice during the continuance of the war, and for some time after it was ended, but he had a deputy in Prussia, who was called his land-master, with commanders in Courland and Livonia, and officers in various parts of the empire. Conrad XI., grand master, removed the chapter of the order from Venice to Marburg, in Hesse, where it remained till 1309, when Seigefreid XIII., grand master, removed it to Marienburg, in Prussia.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1318.

Lothaire, the fourth son of Albert II., Duke of Brunswick, was the sixteenth grand master, and the fourth who resided in Prussia. His predecessor had left the order engaged in a war with the Poles, which it was his duty to maintain. He took the field with a very large army, but being surprised by the enemy during a thick fog, more than 20,000 knights were destroyed, which considerably reduced their numbers, and confined them to the defence of their immediate possessions. It only remains to be mentioned, that Albert, the son of the first Margrave of Anspach of the House of

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1318.

Brandenburg Zollern, who was grand master at the Reformation, had the address to convert his temporary appointment into an hereditary dukedom; that his eldest grand-daughter added the duchy of Prussia to the Electorate of Brandenburg; and that her great grandson was Frederick the Great, first king of Prussia.

The family of Albert II:

But to return to the family of Albert II. who was surnamed the Fat, Bruno, his sixth son, died in 1303. Matilda, his eldest daughter, became abbess of Gandersheim, and Adelaide, his second, married John the son of Henry I., Landgrave of Hesse.

And of his brother, Henry the Wonderful:

Henry the Wonderful, the elder brother of Albert, whose family next claims our attention, died in September, 1322. We have already mentioned his civil wars with his own family, and have only to add, that on the death of the Emperor Rudolph in 1291, when his eldest son Albert claimed as of right the suffrages of the electors, and when it was found that his pretensions would not be admitted, the Count of Gueldres and Henry of Brunswick declared themselves candidates for the imperial crown. But the Archbishop of Mentz, whose desire it was to have his cousin Adolphus, Count

Henry is candidate for the crown:

of Nassau, raised to that dignity, found means to have them excluded from the list, and without discovering his intentions to any one, he so managed as to get permission to name the sovereign himself. When the diet assembled at Frankfort, he then declared that the Count of Nassau was the person he had chosen. The selection excited some surprise, but was unanimously confirmed, and Adolphus was crowned by the Archbishop of Cologne at Aix-la-Chapelle, where Henry, though a rival candidate, attended the ceremony.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1318.

From this moment the annals of his life are barren of incidents. He lived chiefly in retirement, and at his death was succeeded at Grubenhagen by his eldest son Henry. Ernest his second son got the county of Osterode. William his third son had the castle of Hertzberg, where he died unmarried, in 1361, and John, his fourth son, was provost of the church of Eimbeck.

His family.

His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married the Count of Reichlingen ; his second, Adelaide, the Count of Everstein, and afterwards the Duke of Carinthia ; his third, Bonifacia, was wedded to Andronicus II., Emperor of the East, under

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1330.

the Greek name of Irene; and his fourth became Duchess of Pomerania, while Rixa, the fifth daughter, died a nun.

Otho, Duke of Lune-
burg :

Otho, the Severe, Duke of Luneburg, the cousin-german of Henry and Albert, and head of the third family, died in 1330. Even in his day a remnant of the Pagan idolaters, known in former ages as the Venedi, Heneti, and Obotriti, still lurked in the forests and marshes of Luneburg, where they maintained their pagan worship and followed their barbarous customs; but by the care of Otho they were brought from their savage dens—compelled to adopt the christian religion, and to associate with their fellow creatures. John, the eldest son of Otho, was made administrator of the archbishoprick of Bremen. Louis his second son, was Bishop of Minden, and Otho and William succeeded him in the duchy. His only daughter, Agnes, married the Duke of Pomerania.

His family.

A.D. 1330.

The number of
reigning princes at
this period.

At this period, 1330, we have not less than five distinct principalities, and seven reigning princes of the House of Brunswick, namely,
1. Henry, son of Henry the Wonderful, the chief, or the eldest born of the house, who is surnamed the Grecian, at Grubenhagen; 2. his

brother Ernest at Osterode ; 3. Otho, surnamed the Liberal, the eldest son of Albert II., Duke of Brunswick Gottingen at Brunswick, where he was succeeded by, 4. his brother Magnus, and 5. Ernest their brother at Gottingen, while, 6. Otho, surnamed the Younger, eldest son of Otho the Severe, with his brother, 7. William, ruled their father's undivided portion at Luneburg. This explanation was necessary before we proceeded to give any account of the lives of these several princes ; as it is with regret we have to observe that for more than two-thirds of the fourteenth century, their names scarcely appear in the records of Germany.

At the death of Adolphus of Nassau, Albert of Austria gained the empire, and after him Henry of Luxemburg succeeded, and during his reign the House of Brunswick was held in some consideration. A prince of Austria, Frederick, the eldest son of Albert I., started again for the crown, on the death of Henry VII., but he was out-voted by Louis, Duke of Bavaria, the son of Louis the Severe, Duke of Bavaria and Count Palatine.

Henry II. of Brunswick Grubenhagen was greatly attached to Louis of Bavaria, and accompanied him in his campaigns against

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1330.

The changes in the empire.
Albert of Austria, emperor:
After him Henry of Luxemburg:

Then Louis of Bavaria:

Henry II., of Grubenhagen, attached to this prince :

BOOK VII. Frederick, Duke of Austria, both before and
 A.D. 1330. after he came to the throne of Germany. The
 Brunswick chronicle asserts that he was present
 at the battle of Muhldorff on the Inn, where
 Frederick was taken prisoner, and his army
 destroyed, but his name does not appear in any
 record of that battle; and as it was fought
 about the period of his father's death, it is
 probable that he was not with the emperor
 on that occasion. But in 1328, we find him
 mentioned as in the suite of Louis, when he
 entered the capital of Italy, and where he must
 have taken leave of the emperor, as he pro-
 ceeded from Rome to Constantinople on a visit
 to his brother-in-law, the Emperor Andronicus,
 and from thence made a pilgrimage to the Holy
 Land.

Henry visits Greece
 and the Holy Land:

On his return to Europe in 1330, Henry spent
 some time in France, and about three years in
 England, at the court of his kinsman, Edward
 III.; we know that he collected relics, and that

His legacy to the
 Convent of St. Pau-
 line:

he gave as a legacy to the convent of St. Pau-
 line, a piece of the wood of the true Cross, two
 thorns from the wreath with which our Saviour
 was crowned, and oil consecrated by St. Cathe-
 rine; we know also that he married, 1st., Jutta,

His family:

a princess of the House of Brandenburg, by whom he had one son, Otho, and secondly, Maria, the daughter of the King of Cyprus; and that by the latter he had five sons; but these, we regret to say, are all the circumstances that can be stated with any certainty, in the history of Henry *the Grecian*.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1330.

His sons were, 1st, Otho, who succeeded him; 2nd, Balthazer, who married a Countess of Fundi, and died in Italy; 3rd, Philip, who married the dowager Queen, and settled in Cyprus; 4th, Melchior, who was made Bishop of Osnaburg, and afterwards of Rostock; and, 5th and 6th, two of whose history we know nothing, but who most probably lived and died in Italy. Melchior is the only prince of his family that had any establishment in Germany, and he was either poisoned or died of a surfeit at Rostock in 1381. Henry died in 1351.

A.D. 1351.

The territory which was inherited by Ernest, the brother of Henry of Greece, was of trifling importance, and did not extend beyond the city and county of Osterode. In point of revenue, it must have been little calculated to support the rank of a sovereign prince, unless he had a large share in the rich mines of the Harz. His name

History of Ernest,
Duke of Osterode:

BOOK VII. is not known beyond the chronicles of his
 A.D. 1361. house, and there we only learn that he married Agnes, the daughter of his neighbour, the

His family: Count of Everstein, and was the father of six children, of whom Otho, the eldest, died young, and that his sons Albert and Frederick succeeded him; that his son Ernest rose to be Abbot of Corvey, and was killed in battle; that his eldest daughter, Agnes, married the Count of Hohenstein, and that his youngest, Anne, was
 His death in 1361. abbess at Osterode. Ernest died in 1361.

The third in the list of reigning princes, at the period under review, was Otho the Liberal.—

History of Otho the Liberal. This prince had Gottingen for his proper patrimony, but governed, during the minority of his young brothers Magnus and Ernest, the whole of that portion of the duchy of Brunswick which had been originally given to their father, Albert the Fat. He died in 1344, without heirs, when Magnus, who was surnamed the Pious, succeeded him at Brunswick, and Ernest his younger brother got Gottingen. This Ernest married Elizabeth, a princess of Hesse, by whom he had one son Otho, surnamed the Strong, who succeeded him at Gottingen, and two daughters.

History of Ernest, Duke of Gottingen, and Otho, Duke of Luneburg.

Otho the younger, Duke of Luneburg, the sixth in this series, married Matilda, Princess of Mecklenburg, but dying in 1352 without male heirs, he was succeeded by his only brother William, which brings down our annals to the era of another generation.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1362.

In 1368, the representation of the House of Brunswick stood thus, 1st, Otho the eldest son of Henry of Greece, was the head of the family, and Duke of Grubenhagen; 2nd, Albert the son of Ernest I. of this branch, was sovereign of Eimbeck; and 3rd, Frederick, another son of Ernest, reigned at Osterode; 4th, Magnus, the son of Albert the Fat, was Duke of Brunswick; 5th, Otho the Strong, son of Ernest, the brother of Magnus, was Duke of Gottingen; and 6th, William, the brother of Otho the Younger, was Duke of Luneburg.

The number of
reigning princes.
A.D. 1368.

Otho, who is the first in the list, was from his talents rather than his fortune, conspicuous among the princes of Europe. His father obliged him in his youth to join the Teutonic order, but he afterwards renounced his vows, and quitting Germany, passed some time at the court of King John of France, and with Edward III. in England.

History of Otho,
Duke of Gruben-
hagen:

His youth spent in
France and Eng-
land:

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1368.

He challenges the
Duke of Lancaster:

Their dispute set-
tled by the King of
France:

He attaches himself
to the Luxemburg
family:

The Duke of Lancaster then, or sometime thereafter, being accused of having spoken words injurious to his honour, was challenged by Otho to single combat, and the King of France was chosen umpire. He tried to get the matter amicably settled, by the interference of his son, and son-in-law, the Dauphin and the King of Navarre; but in that he failed; and on the day appointed, (14 December, 1352,) the princes met at a place named, in the neighbourhood of Paris, mounted and armed at all points, and ready to engage in deadly conflict. But the Sovereign of France prevailed at last in getting them to submit their quarrel to his decision; and having found that the words imputed to the Duke of Lancaster had not been spoken by him, and that Otho had been imposed upon by a false representation of what had actually taken place, he pronounced them both *valiant* and *loyal Knights*, and commanded them to forget all cause of enmity.

Otho, from the moment of his father's death, attached himself to the interests of the Luxemburg family, in opposition to Austria and Bavaria. His earliest command was in

the army of the King of Bohemia. He was attached to the person of that monarch at the battle of Crescy, and as he had been brought up as the friend and companion of his son Charles, it followed that, when that prince got the crown of Germany, the Duke of Grubenhagen would be much at his court. He accompanied Charles into Italy in 1354, and assisted at his coronation at Rome in April, 1355. He afterwards obtained the command of the Pope's army in Italy, and became celebrated for his great success against the Ghibelline cities and provinces. He served under his cousin, the Marquis of Montferrat, in his war with the family of the Visconti, and was left by that prince the guardian of his son.

With the reputation of being a general of great valour and experience, he acquired much fame as a politician, and was reckoned one of the most scrupulous princes in Europe, in all that regarded points of honour. He was kind and affectionate in his manner towards his inferiors, but his ambition and his haughtiness towards his equals, or those who affected to be such, often led him into scrapes that injured his reputation; yet his character stood so high that

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1368.

Serves with the King of Bohemia at Crescy:

And accompanies Charles IV. into Italy:

Where he commands the Pope's army:

His character:

B O O K VII.

A.D. 1368.

Joanna, Queen of Naples, the last of the direct line of the Count of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis, and conqueror of Italy and Naples, selected him as her protector, and offered him her hand on the death of James, Prince of Majorca, her third husband.

He accepts the hand
of the Queen of Na-
ples:

Otho, who accepted of the offer, lost no time in repairing to Naples. He was received with great magnificence, and conducted to the new palace, where the ceremony of their union took place. The queen, after that cere-

And obtains the
Duchy of Tarentum:

mony, invested her husband with the duchy of Tarentum, but refused to allow him the regal title. Some writers suppose that this refusal proceeded from her ambition to reign alone, as she had done in the case of her last husband; while others assert that it was her desire to maintain in their full integrity the rights of her declared heir, the Count Charles of Durazzo, which made her withhold from Otho the crown matrimonial. Whatever may

The consequence of
his marriage

have been the motives for her conduct, this marriage hastened her ruin. Otho was nearly of the same age with the queen, and notwithstanding that she was approaching her forty-eighth year, her youthful appearance and good

health, afforded some hopes that she might produce an heir. These hopes which were most agreeable to her subjects, and to which the queen herself was not insensible, naturally alarmed the Count Charles and his friends.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1378.

The heir to the crown alarmed.

If Joanna had an heir, Charles and his descendants were excluded from the crown : but even if she died without leaving a child, the Germans, who, under the protection of Otho, began to inundate the kingdom, might, it was supposed, eventually place him on the throne, and as had been experienced in times past, it would be no easy matter to expel them, when once they had obtained possession ; these feelings, and other causes, made Otho an object of great jealousy to Charles and his Countess Margaret.

A short time previous to Otho's marriage with the Queen of Naples, Pope Gregory XI. died at Rome. Anxious to secure the government of the church to the French party, which was now paramount, he had urged the cardinals on his death-bed to name his successor as soon as possible, as he was afraid they might be overawed or controlled by the violence of the people of the capital ; and they, willing to obey his injunctions, lost no time in preparing for

The election of two Popes :

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1378.

the election. But when the conclave met, the citizens assembled in multitudes, and their cry was that they must have a Pope who was a Roman, or a native of Italy, or they would render the heads of the cardinals as red as their caps. The captains who commanded in the city, declared that they could not restrain the fury of the people. They had already begun to place fagots under the room where the cardinals were assembled, and in a state of great alarm, the sacred college fixed upon the Archbishop of Bari, who immediately took the name of Urban VI.

This prelate was esteemed a man of superior talents, and of modest and humble manners, and it was supposed would resign the triple crown as soon as the tumultuous passions of the people had subsided, and that the electors could be allowed to exercise their own judg-

Otho favours Urban:

ment. But Urban, once chosen, was resolved to keep his place, and Otho, who had long known him in private life, gave him his support on his entering into office. The cardinals, however, were determined to show that they were not to be constrained in the exercise of their prerogative; they met at Fundi, in the kingdom of

Naples, and by a majority of thirty-five, declared the Cardinal of Geneva, the true Pope, and he took the title of Clement VII. This double election created a schism, not only in the church, but also among the states of Europe. The King of England, the Kings of Hungary and Poland, the Flemings, the Saxons, the Bohemians, and almost all the states of the North, acknowledged Urban, while Scotland, France, Italy, and Cyprus, with the Dukes of Saxony, Lorraine, and Austria, yielded obedience to Clement.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1379.

The Queen of Naples, through the interference of her husband, acknowledged Urban in the first instance; but it happened during the Feast of Easter, that Otho, who was in attendance upon the Pope, and who, as a mark of his respect, presented him with the cup after dinner, was kept so long kneeling beside the chair of his holiness, that he was seriously offended; and Joanna, who felt the indignity still more than the prince, immediately withdrew her countenance from the insolent priest. That rupture threw Urban into the hands of the intriguing Count Charles, who availing himself of their disagreement, got a sentence of deposition pronounced against the queen, and the

Is insulted by him:

And joins Clement VII.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1379.

Charles, Count of
Duras, in rebellion
against the Queen
of Naples:

investiture of the kingdom from Urban, upon a promise that he would not only support his interests, but bestow the Duchy of Capua upon his nephew. These measures soon led to a civil war; Otho took the field in defence of Clement, while the Count of Durazzo arrayed his forces on the side of Urban. The latter, however, the most powerful in Italy, excommunicated the queen, and called upon the King of Hungary to avenge the death of his brother, who, it was believed, had been murdered by Joanna.

Is disinherited:

The king gave the command of his Hungarians to Charles, and when the queen found that he was advancing upon Naples, with the standard of rebellion, she cancelled the act of his adoption, and nominated the Duke of Anjou, the brother of the King of France, as his successor. This proceeding displeased the Neapolitans, who were hostile to France, and not at all satisfied at her having given up the management of the kingdom to a German, and an alien, for so they considered Otho. Charles, therefore, had many friends and abettors in the kingdom, and Otho finding he was too feebly supported, to be able to keep the field, retired upon Arcenzo.

Discontents in Na-
ples.

Otho is badly sup-
ported.

The queen, in her distress, called her nobles around her, and obtained a trifling supply of money from her discontented subjects, but it was found inadequate to the support of her army; while Charles, advancing into the heart of the kingdom, was received everywhere with open arms. After some inconsiderable actions, he laid siege to the capital, where the queen was shut up in the *château Neuf*. Otho tried to relieve her, but his army was cut to pieces, and his brother Balthazar was taken a prisoner, and had his eyes put out. He collected another army, with which he attacked the intrenchments of Charles, and was on the point of gaining a victory, when he was himself surrounded and taken prisoner. This disaster threw his troops into confusion, and they were easily repulsed. Joanna, left thus without any hopes of succour, was obliged to yield to the conqueror. She was sent to the Castle of St. Angelo, in the county of *Molessa*, where, after a few months imprisonment, she was strangled by order of Charles.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1381.

Charles enters the kingdom in triumph:

Takes Otho prisoner:

As also the Queen.

A.D. 1382.

The Duke of Brunswick was secured in the fortress of *Minorvano*, where he remained about three years, but at last escaped, and

BOOK VII. retiring to Avignon, lived at the court of
 — Clement, until a revolution in Naples, on
 A.D. 1385. the death of King Charles, 1386, called him

Otho, at liberty, re- again into that kingdom, and placed him at the
 turns to Naples: head of her armies.

He had now an opportunity of punishing the murderers of his late consort ; but being of a mild and forgiving temper, he granted a general pardon, and, by his upright conduct, contributed greatly to the establishment of the Angevin interest in that kingdom, which for many years afterwards continued a prey to all the disorders of a long minority, and a disputed throne.

Is superseded in the
 government:

Otho after some time was superseded by the Chevalier of Montjoy, who, regardless of what was due to his rank and his services, treated him with so much disrespect, that he retired with his army to a distance of twenty miles from Naples. The citizens, alarmed at the retreat of a prince in whom they had such confidence, entreated Montjoy to recall him ; but Otho refused any longer to support the French interests, and joined Margaret, the widow of the deceased king. He advanced, with a determination of reducing the capital to her authority, but his troops were in the first instance

defeated; and being advanced in years, he shortly afterwards retired from public life, and died at Foggia in Apulia. As he left no issue, his Italian duchy reverted to the crown of Naples, and his grand-nephew succeeded him at Grubenhagen.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1398.

His death in 1398.

Albert, who is the next in the list, and whose residence was, as we have stated, at Eimbeck, married the daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, and left one son named Erick, who succeeded him.

The history of the other princes.

Frederick, the third in the list of the reigning princes now under consideration, married, first, Adelaide, a Princess of Anhalt; and secondly, Elizabeth, heiress of Homburg, by whom he had a son, Otho, that succeeded him at Osterode.

Magnus the Fourth, surnamed the Pious, and the prince by whom the succession was continued, resided after his elder brother's death, at Brunswick. He was much attached to the Emperor Louis of Bavaria,—supported his interests against the House of Austria, and received from him the investiture of several provinces in the district of Brandenburg, which were the portion of his duchess Sophia, a sister of Henry, the last elector of the Ascanian

Magnus the Pious :

BOOK VII. family*. But we rather think that he opposed
A.D. 1398. the Bavarian candidate, at the death of Louis, and voted for the King of Bohemia.

By his Duchess Sophia, Magnus had a family of ten children,—six sons and four daughters. Otho, his eldest son, while yet a very young man, went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and died in 1339, soon after his return. Ernest, his second son, resided at Blankenau, and died also at an early age. His third son, Albert, was elected Archbishop of Bremen in 1361, and died in 1395. His fourth son, Henry, was Provost of the Church of the Holy Cross at Hildesheim; and Louis and Magnus, his fifth and sixth sons, succeeded him at Brunswick.

Otho the Strong: We come now to Otho, surnamed the Strong, the fifth in the list, who succeeded his father Ernest, in 1367, as Duke of Gottingen.

He is represented as a prince of great bodily powers, hence his surname, but of an unsettled and turbulent disposition, and one who protected the lawless banditti that plundered the country more than was consistent with his rank

* The Emperor Louis V. on the failure of heirs male of the direct line of the Ascanian family, gave Brandenburg to his own son, Louis the elder.

or character, as a legitimate and reigning sovereign. We have an account of his defeating the troops of the Hanse towns before the Castle of Hohenstein, when they were besieging some freebooters in that fortress, and of his making war upon the Count of Wernigerode, from whom he took the Castle of Hertzberg. He plundered the bishoprick of Hildesheim, and warred against the Landgrave of Hesse. He condemned the Count of Wernigerode to be hanged for plundering Blankenburg, and saw the sentence executed. But after his own death, in 1394, his widow had some difficulty in getting him absolved from a sentence of excommunication, pronounced against him by the Archbishop of Mentz. By Margaret, a Princess of Berg, he left two sons and two daughters. Otho, who was the youngest, succeeded him at Gottingen, as William his eldest son died unmarried, at the age of twenty-one.

The sixth and last prince that we have to mention under this division, is William, Duke of Luneburg.

The states of this prince were nearly, if not altogether, equal in extent to the whole of what were possessed by his cousins, and they gave

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1398.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1398.

him a weight in the empire, which no individual of the other five princes could claim. His friendship therefore was courted by the Northern powers, and particularly by the King of Denmark, for whom he became security, in a treaty with the Dukes of Holstein and Sleeswick.

He married first, a daughter of the Count of Ravensburg; secondly, a Princess of Schœrden; and lastly, the daughter of Erick I., Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg. There was no son by any of these marriages, and the settlement of his states upon his daughters and their issue became a matter of serious consideration to him in his latter years. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, had married Otho, a prince of the House of Saxony, the brother of Wenselaus, the last Elector but one, of the Ascanian family, and as his last wife was a princess of this family, she endeavoured to persuade him to leave the whole of his states to the issue of their marriage. But his youngest daughter had married Louis, the son of Magnus the Pious, a prince of his own family, and to whom, by the laws of the empire and the usages of Saxony, the succession legally belonged; he therefore felt inclined to fa-

vour their heirs. William, however, was persuaded to make a settlement, conveying the Duchy of Luneburg to Albert, the son of his eldest daughter; and this prince, through his connexion and influence with the emperor, got a confirmation of this settlement, not only securing to himself and his heirs the reversion of these states, but securing them equally to his uncle, the Elector of Saxony, and his brother, Duke Rudolph; but the aged duke having afterwards repented, he cancelled this first settlement, and obliged his subjects to swear allegiance to the Prince of Brunswick. Had Louis, the husband of his youngest daughter, lived a few years longer, or left issue, this last arrangement of his father-in-law might have been established; but dying in 1367, one year before the death of the Duke of Luneburg, the question again came to be agitated. Magnus, who was surnamed Torquatus, claimed the succession, as his brother's heir and the heir-general of the House of Luneburg, and was supported by the still reigning duke, his cousin; but the Saxon princes, supported by the Emperor Charles IV., disputed his right, and immediately on the death of Wil-

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1398.

Disputed succession
of William Duke of
Luneburg.

History of Magnus
Torquatus

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1398.

liam, in 1368, had recourse to arms, to make good their pretensions.

The senate of Luneburg favoured the Saxons, and permitted Albert to make a public entry into their city, and Hanover and other towns in the duchy acknowledged his authority. The emperor wrote to the burgesses of these several cities, and to the states of each province, commanding them to receive and acknowledge Rudolph, Wencelaus, and Albert, Dukes of Saxony, as their true and lawful sovereigns, and informed them that these princes had been regularly invested with the banner of the duchy. He further imposed a fine of a thousand marks of gold upon every noble that refused to join them; but notwithstanding that the hirelings of the cities declared in their favour, and that the emperor supported their cause, Magnus found many friends when he entered the duchy at the head of his troops; and the Luneburgers shewed then, as they have always done, that nothing could shake their attachment to their legitimate princes. Magnus therefore advanced upon the capital without being opposed, and the public opinion was so much in his fa-

He enters Lune-
burg:

vour, that Albert was obliged to retire beyond the Elbe. BOOK VII.

—
A.D. 1398.

But Albert, his rival,
maintains the sove-
reign authority.

Magnus was put under the ban of the empire, for thus daring to take possession of his own country. The civil war continued with various success during his life-time; but the imperial authority, and the Saxon gold, enabled his rivals to retain possession of the government, which, after his unfortunate death, was in some measure confirmed to them.

This prince, whose surname was *Torquatus*, is reported in the chronicle, to have been during his youth of an unruly and turbulent disposition. He was either employed in plundering his neighbour's states, or in levying contributions upon his father's subjects. The old prince, whose surname of *Pious* bespeaks his disposition, was greatly annoyed by his son's conduct, and after trying in vain to reclaim him by fair means, he threatened at last to have him hanged, if he did not alter his behaviour. This had the desired effect, and the prince in contrition, had a chain made, which he constantly wore, in order that his father might have the power, as he said, of executing his threat whenever he re-

The origin of the
surname of Magnus.

BOOK VII. lapsed into his former errors,—hence his sur-
 A.D. 1398. name of *Torquatus*, or Chain-bearer.

Quarrel produced by
 the marriage of his
 sister-in-law.

Matilda of Luneburg, the widow of his brother, married Louis, afterwards Otho, Count of Schaumburg, and as the alliance was not approved of by the House of Brunswick, her husband joined the princes of Saxony. Whether it was from his adopting that line of conduct, or from a personal insult, the chronicles do not enable us to judge, but it so happened that Magnus and Otho became bitter enemies. They met, some say, on purpose to decide their dispute in a personal conflict; others assert that they accidentally encountered each other on the field of battle; but whichever was the case, they met, and they were determined that one of them should end the quarrel with his death. Magnus unhorsed his enemy, and had dismounted himself, to ascertain whether or not he was dead. He was stooping over Otho to remove his visor, when one of the domestics, or officers of the count, came behind him, and plunged a dagger into his heart. This took place in 1373.

His death:

By his duchess Catherine, a daughter of

the House of Brandenburg, he had eleven children,—four sons and seven daughters. His three eldest sons, Frederick, Bernhard, and Henry succeeded to his states, and Otho, his fourth son, was made Bishop of Verden. His eldest daughter, Helen, married Albert, Duke of Mecklenburg, who, in right of his mother, succeeded to the crown of Sweden in 1363; and the others were married into the families of Grubenhagen, Mansfeldt, Holstein, Oldenburg, Hoya, and Saxe-Lanenburg.

We have now brought down the annals of this family to the end of the fourteenth century, when, according to the division made in their chronicles, the history of the old House of Brunswick finishes. At this period, we find that, 1st, Erick, the son of Albert of Eimbeck, had succeeded to the whole of the Grubenhagen states; that he was the elder prince of the family, and consequently the head of the House of Guelph. 2nd, that Otho II., the son of Otho the Strong, and who, from having lost an eye, is named *Coccles*, was Duke of Gottingen; while 3rd, Frederick; 4th, Bernhard; and 5th, Henry, the sons of Magnus Torquatus, reigned conjointly at Brunswick, and were prosecuting their

BOOK VII.

—
A.D. 1398.

And family:

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1398.

Some general remarks on the state of the empire.

The Golden Bull:

The reason why it was necessary.

claim to the succession of Luneburg. But before we proceed in the family annals, we shall revert for a moment to the changes that had taken place in the empire, and particularly to that great change, the organization of the Electoral College, by what has been called the Golden Bull of Charles IV.

All hereditary claims of succession to the chief dignity in the German empire ended with the family of Charlemagne, and though the Saxon dynasty became no less powerful than the Carolingian, their princes had to submit to the form of an election, and were supposed not to hold the sceptre, until they had been called to the crown by a majority of all the princes, if not of all the nobles who held imperial fiefs, and were entitled to give their vote. But the great officers of the court, when these appointments became hereditary, with the leading prelates of the church gradually acquired an ascendancy in the deliberations of this assembly (always numerous) of the princes of the empire, and assumed to themselves, if not an absolute right to decide, at least the chief management in the election of the emperor. They first asked permission to select and to recommend the

prince best qualified to fill the throne. They then claimed this as a right, but still the person chosen by them was obliged to obtain the votes of the other princes.

It was not till after the death of Frederick II. that the dignitaries of the crown arrogated to themselves the absolute right of naming the emperor, and we may date from the election of Rudolph of Hapsburg, the first establishment of the Electoral College in its full powers. Gregory X. is the first who, in his letters, gives the chosen few the title of "Princes Electors," and addresses them as "the princes to whom the right of electing the emperor belongs;" and when they found that their assumed privilege in the case of Rudolph was not opposed, they took care that it should never afterwards admit of a doubt.

During the short reigns of Adolphus of Nassau, Albert I., and Henry VII., the court of Rome had no opportunity of intermeddling with the affairs of Germany; but when her disputes with Louis V. called for the formal measure of his deposition, the first step of Benedict XII. was to call in question the legality of his election. This doubt of their powers induced

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1398.

The Pope first questions the power of the electors.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1398.

The decree of Frank-
fort, 1338.

the electors, who had now exercised these powers for the greater part of a century, to enter first into what was called the Electoral Union,—a league by which they bound themselves to support their rights against the court of Rome, and all other persons; and which was of great service to the emperor in his dispute with the successors of St. Peter; and afterwards to pass a decree, in the diet of Frankfort in 1338, which expressed in distinct terms, that he who was elected emperor, or king, by the electors, whether by their unanimous consent, or by a majority of their votes, was immediately to be recognized as the lawful King and Emperor of Germany, by virtue of that election solely.

But though that decree established the authority of the college, there were many points still left unsettled. The families of the first electoral princes had split into branches, each of whom claimed the electoral privilege. It was not said whether that privilege belonged to the fief or the individual,—to the elder or to the junior branch, and as the discussion of those matters led to endless disputes and civil commotions, Charles IV. determined to have them finally

arranged. With the consent, therefore, of the electors and princes of the empire, his famous Golden Bull was drawn up and promulgated in 1356. Louis, the brother of Magnus Torquatus, was the only prince of the House of Brunswick that attended at Metz, where the Golden Bull was completed and first published.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1398.

The Golden Bull
published 1356.

Charles IV., the author of that famous law, was one of those princes who understood the theory of reigning, but failed in the practice. It was said of him, that he would have been considered by all men as worthy of the empire, had he not obtained it. Still, as he actually had some merit, and had credit for a great deal more than he possessed, he stumbled upon this and many other wise measures, which have given a certain degree of splendour and importance to his reign. He found out the secret, that by enlarging and embellishing the great cities, and improving the manners of their inhabitants, he had established one of the firmest supports of the imperial authority; and by the Golden Bull, he not only identified himself more immediately with the powerful body who were electors, but had an opportunity of regulating and defining the prerogatives of the

Character of the
Emperor Charles IV.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1398.

other princes of the empire, without its appearing that he was at all interfering with their privileges.

Never did two characters more nearly resemble each other, than those of Charles IV. of Germany, and James I. of England; they were both men of learning, and patrons of learned men, and if we compare the reports which have been left by their contemporaries, we shall find that in their habits, manners, and tempers, they were much alike.

His reign remarkable:

It was during the reign of Charles, that the art of making gunpowder was first discovered by a monk of Fribourg; but as has been the case in almost all discoveries of importance, both the time when, and the person by whom this discovery was made, have been called in question. Charles was learned himself, and though, perhaps, not a wise, was a very prudent prince, and one who possessed a more than ordinary knowledge of men and things; yet notwithstanding these qualifications, he left his son and successor, the most ignorant and most debauched individual in the empire—a prince without any knowledge of letters, vulgar in his manners, and devoid of religion; entirely

Character of his son and successor.

devoted to the most disgusting vices, and whose days and nights were spent in the pursuit of his abandoned pleasures.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1398.

It was under the reign of Wencelaus, the successor of Charles, that the dispute regarding the succession to Luneburg was carried on by the sons of Magnus Torquatus.

History of Brunswick resumed.

These princes, after their father's death, maintained that they had a joint right to govern that duchy; but Albert, in terms of the imperial grant, kept possession till his death in 1385. His uncle, Wencelaus, then claimed it, as having received the reversion; but their dispute was at last settled, by the marriage of his two daughters, in 1386, with Frederick and Bernard, the Dukes of Brunswick; when the whole of the original duchy of Brunswick and Luneburg, with the exception of the principality of Grubenhagen, and the small territory of Gottingen, centred in Frederick, the eldest son of Magnus. His younger brothers, in this instance, had the good sense to allow the rights of primogeniture to avail, and thereby he acquired his proper level among the princes of Germany.

The Luneburg succession settled.

The states of Brunswick being once more at

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1400.

peace, Frederick was induced to join Sigismund, the King of Hungary, whose territory, at the instigation of his rebellious subjects in Wallachia, was invaded about this time by the Turks. But though he carried a considerable body of troops to the assistance of the Hungarians, he refused to take any command in their army, and the campaign proving unfortunate to the Christians, he returned again to Brunswick. He then found the empire in an exceedingly agitated state, from the continued bad conduct of Wencelaus, who, occupied with his pleasures in Bohemia, had entirely neglected the government of Germany. The electors had repeatedly warned him of this neglect, but as he turned a deaf ear to all their representations, they at last came to the resolution of deposing him.

Wencelaus deposed.

The free imperial cities, too, that had been favoured by Charles, with a view to counterbalance the authority of the princes, had now, under the mis-government of his son, acquired a power that threatened the existence of every sovereign state. The princes were therefore compelled to unite in their own defence, and as their league soon reduced the

Hanseatic confederation to its proper duties, it left them at liberty to consult on the state of the empire.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1400.

The electors met at Frankfort, and in virtue of the powers which they possessed, under the Golden Bull of the late emperor, they, with the consent of the princes, declared the throne vacant; and at a meeting, which they afterwards held at Rens, unanimously gave their suffrages in favour of Frederick, Duke of Brunswick.

1st June.

The election of this prince, gave general satisfaction; his great merit was well known, and he was looked upon by many as the only prince capable of redeeming the lost honour of the state. He was at Frankfort when the decision of the electors was communicated to him, but immediately left that city for his own capital, that he might prepare himself to be invested with the imperial dignity. He was accompanied on the journey by his brother Bernard, his brother-in-law Rudolph, Duke of Saxony, Conrad, Bishop of Verden, and Sigismund, Count of Anhalt, and as they travelled, unconscious of any danger, they were without any escort; but when they had got between Correnzbrun and Fritzlar, in the do

Frederick of Brunswick elected:

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1400.

Is murdered by banditti:

minions of Hesse, they were suddenly set upon by a party of banditti. The emperor defended himself with great bravery, and refused to yield, but as his attendants were soon dispersed or killed, he received several severe wounds, of which he died immediately.

Henry, Count of Waldeck, who headed these assassins, was taken, and when put to the rack, acknowledged that he had been bribed by the Archbishop of Mentz to commit this murder; one Frederick, of Harlingshausen, who had given the fatal blow, was also seized and delivered up to the emperor's brothers; and his death, by torture, atoned in some measure for his unhallowed crime.

His character.

The untimely fate of Frederick was universally deplored. "It was the opinion of all mankind," says the chronicle of Brunswick, "that his being cut off at this time was a greater loss to the world than to himself." He was possessed of great magnanimity, and a considerable share of learning. He had a strong body, was valiant in war, but prudent and indefatigable in promoting peace and justice." By the Princess Anne, he left two daughters,

Catherine, who married the Count of Schwartzburg, and Anne, who married Frederick IV., Duke of Austria.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1400.

As soon as the murder of the Duke of Brunswick was made known, the electors met again at Rens, and fixed upon Robert III., Count Palatine of the Rhine, who was of the House of Wissilbach, (the elder branch of the family of Bavaria) as his successor. This prince, immediately after his election, swore not only to maintain the princes and the cities in their respective rights, but also to watch over the welfare of the church. He particularly bound himself to remove Galeazzo Visconti from the Duchy of Milan, which had been sold to him by Wencelaus, and also to take from him all the other possessions which he had acquired in Lombardy; and further, he engaged to preserve to the empire its privileges and prerogatives, and to defend it against all princes, who either wished to alienate their fiefs, or to render themselves independent of its authority.

Robert III., Count
Palatine, elected:

His popular mea-
sures.

The three ecclesiastical electors then more particularly swore fidelity to his government, and promised to use all the means within their power to support him on the throne.

BOOK VII.

A.D. 1400.

The merchants of Germany, through the medium of the electoral college, presented a memorial to the new sovereign, praying that they might be relieved from the heavy duties imposed upon all merchandise, by the Emperor Wencelaus. All imposts, therefore, established by Charles or his son were immediately taken off, and the taxes of the empire were placed upon the same footing as they had been in the reign of Louis V. Robert wrote to Boniface IX., to notify his election, without taking any notice of the deposition of Wencelaus, and promised to send an embassy to explain the circumstances that had preceded and accompanied his elevation to the throne. But notwithstanding these measures, Wencelaus was still acknowledged by several states in Germany, in Swabia, and in Italy. The cities of Mantua, Ferrara, Genoa, and Milan adhered firmly to his interests, and Europe became once more involved in all the turbulence of faction.

Wencelaus has still
a party.

BOOK VIII.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND DIVISION,
OR WHAT HAS BEEN DENOMINATED THE MIDDLE
HOUSES OF BRUNSWICK AND LUNEBURG.

THE prudence with which Robert managed the affairs of the empire, and the interest he took in the welfare of the people, soon changed the current of opinion in his favour; and as the deposed emperor confined his attention and his debaucheries to his own kingdom of Bohemia, his supporters in Germany became less zealous in his interests, and gradually ceased to trouble the state on his account. But for the first years of the fifteenth century, disorder, nevertheless, continued to prevail, and civil war, from one cause or other, existed in almost every province.

The Dukes Bernard and Henry of Brunswick felt themselves called upon to revenge their brother's murder, and they lost no time in collecting an army, with which they entered the territories of Mentz. The archbishop, whose conduct had excited general disgust, was left without a single ally, and his towns and

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1400.

The Dukes of Brunswick attack the Archbishoprick of Mentz:

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A.D. 1400.

villages were taken, and plundered without mercy, by the enraged brothers. The prelate was obliged to abandon his capital, and it was only saved from destruction, by the payment of a heavy contribution.

And are engaged in
a civil war for three
years :

This civil contest had been carried on for nearly three years, when in one of the many battles that were fought, Henry had the misfortune to be taken prisoner. The emperor then interfered, and matters were accommodated ; 100,000 florins were demanded as his ransom, but they were remitted, on condition that the brothers would conclude a peace.

The division of the
house at this period :

When Bernard and Henry entered upon the government of their paternal states, the representation of the family stood thus: 1st, Erick, Duke of Grubenhagen, the head of the house, was still alive ; and 2nd, Otho, *Coccles* or *Monoculus*, reigned at Gottingen ; while, 3rd, Bernard, and 4th, Henry, were the joint sovereigns of Brunswick and Luneburg.

These last had agreed in the first instance, not to make any division of their states, lest their power should become fettered, and their authority diminished ; but when the war against the Archbishop of Mentz was brought to an

end, and they had time to attend to their private affairs, they mutually arranged to separate their states.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1409.

Bernard, in 1409, removed his residence to Luneburg, and assumed the government of that principality. Henry remained at Brunswick, and henceforward they are to be considered as distinct sovereigns; but they continued firmly united in their affections and interests, and the bad effects of this division were not immediately felt.

The continued schism occasioned by the existence of two Popes, whose business it was to fulminate anathemas against each other, together with the abandoned and profligate lives of the bishops and subordinate clergy, had greatly weakened the reverence of the people for the authority of the church, and had undermined the principles of the catholic religion throughout the Christian world. In Bohemia, in particular, where the king was a declared infidel, the multitude had now assumed a right of judging for themselves in matters of conscience. The doctrines of Wickliffe had found their way into that kingdom, and had been read with all that interest and avidity, which doc-

Continued schism in the church prejudicial to Europe.

Commencement of the Hussites:

BOOK VIII. trines so new and so dangerous were calculated
 A.D. 1409. to inspire. John Huss, the confessor of the

queen, a man of great talents and erudition, and whose influence at court was very considerable, not only adopted the opinions of the English Reformer, but preached them openly. The University of Prague raised its voice against this heresy ; but Huss was supported by the queen, and if not openly favoured, was permitted by the king to continue his preaching. His popularity increased, and in spite of the opposition of the catholic party, he obtained the Rector's chair in that university. His fame and his doctrines soon spread over Europe, and his lectures were attended by crowds of young men from all parts of the continent.

Fame of John Huss.

Rome began to tremble for her supremacy, and Alexander V., who had been newly elected to the Papal chair, by the Council of Pisa, sent orders to the Archbishop of Prague, to put a stop to the lectures of Huss. The university appealed to Gregory XII., the rival of Alexander, and as he equally claimed the government of the universal church, he gave orders to the archbishop not to intermeddle in the matter. The archbishop, however, was a staunch sup-

porter of the Catholic faith, and he carried his complaints before John XXIII., who had succeeded Alexander and John Huss was summoned to appear before his tribunal; but as the affairs of John Huss, and the troubles in Bohemia, belong more to general history, than to these annals, we must leave them for the present, to notice a schism of minor importance, in which the princes of Brunswick were more immediately concerned.

The Bishoprick of Liege had become vacant about the beginning of this century, and two candidates having started for the office, each got confirmed in the see by his own pope. The one was John, son of Albert of Bavaria, the grandson of the Emperor Louis V., and brother of William, Count of Hainault, Holland, and Friesland. He was supported, and had got confirmed by Urban VI. The other was Theodoric, a son of Henry of Parvis, one of the richest nobles of Liege, who was favoured, and had been confirmed by Benedict XIII.

The whole of the Low Countries were involved more or less in their contest, and the civil war which ensued soon spread into the more distant provinces. The princes of Ger-

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1409.

Civil war in the
Duchy of Liege:The two candidates
for the Liege:

BOOK VIII. many, living then in a state of comparative
 — peace, felt alarmed at the progress of this new
 A.D. 1409. war, which had involved not only the states of
 Brunswick, but various others, and they agreed

A diet is called at Frankfort, to put an
 end to the schism: to meet at Frankfort, and there deliberate on
 the best means of putting an end to the
 greater, as well as to this lesser schism.

Nine of the cardinals who had seceded from the interests of Gregory XII., addressed letters to Bernhard and Henry of Brunswick; one dated from Pisa, the 12th of May, 1408, and another from Leghorn, the 16th of July. In these, they gave an account of all that had passed between them and the Pope, from the hour of his election, to the day of their quitting him. They mentioned their interview and union with the cardinals of the opposite party at Pisa and Leghorn, and urged these princes to come, or to send their ambassadors to the general council, which had been called at Leghorn, in order that it might have the weight of their authority, in putting an end to the divided state of the Christian community.

They prayed the dukes, at the same time, not to allow Gregory to lay his hands on any of the benefices in their dominions; lest, as they

stated, the money raised for the support and re-union of the church, might be employed for her destruction. Henry carried these letters to the diet at Frankfort, where he found the Emperor Robert, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Marquis of Bavaria, the Burgrave of Nuremberg, with the Electors of Mentz and Cologne, and a number of bishops, abbots, and counts of the empire ; as also the ambassadors of England, France, and Poland, with the Cardinal Archbishop of Bari, as the representative of the Pisan cardinals.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1408.

Which Henry attends :

The first question that occupied the attention of the assembly, was the legality of the proposed council, but as this led them into a maze of polemical discussion, by far too intricate for the dull comprehension of the German princes, the emperor put an end to the debate, by stating, in answer to a speech of the learned consistorial advocate, that while he had every veneration for general councils, legally and canonically assembled, he believed, as Gregory was the true Pope, no person was authorized to assemble a general Synod of the church without his sanction, and still less so, if that Synod was called expressly to vote his deposition.

The decision of this diet:

BOOK VIII.

 A.D. 1408.

The Cardinal Carario, the nephew of Gregory, in a long harangue, supported the conclusions of the emperor, and although this view of the question was not agreeable to the majority of the members, it was settled, that a deputation should be sent into Italy, to try and arrange matters amicably. Henry of Brunswick voted with the majority, in favour of the council, which he considered as the only measure to put an end to all disputes, but the Archbishop of Riga, with the Bishops of Worms and Verden, and a Canon of Spire, were sent to confer with the Pope, with instructions that when they had acquitted themselves of their mission to his holiness, they were to join the cardinals at Pisa.

Much time was spent in disputation, by these cardinals and the German deputies, without their being able to come to any conclusion, as Gregory refused to resign; the deputies, therefore, left them to decide as they thought proper, and, after fourteen days of keen controversy, they authorized the Patriarch of Alexandria, to announce as their unanimous sentence, “that, upon a mature consideration of the matters referred to them, they had found

And of the council
at Pisa.

the allegations proved, both against Peter de Luno, who had taken the title of Benedict XIII., and Angelo Carario, styling himself Gregory XII. That both were notoriously proved to be schismatics, and, consequently incapable and unworthy of governing the universal church; that, having been found guilty of these crimes, they were deposed *de facto*, and the church of Rome was then without a head."

Immediately after having recorded their sentence, the cardinals, to the number of twenty-four, met in the palace of the Archbishop, and on Saturday, the 18th of June, 1409, elected Peter of Candia, Cardinal of Milan, who took the name of Alexander V.

Peter was a priest of great modesty, and, above all, had no family or relations, upon whom he could waste the patrimony of the church. An Italian shoemaker had found him begging as a child in the streets of Candia, a village in the Duchy of Pavia, and had sent him to be educated among the minor friars. He afterwards acquired a doctor's degree at Paris, and on his return to Lombardy, John de Visconti was so charmed with his talents, that he

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took him under his protection,—placed him at the head of his council, and made him the tutor of his son. He was first promoted to the see of Vicenza, afterwards to that of Navarre, and latterly made Archbishop of Milan; and it was through his mediation at the court of Wencelaus, that Galeazzo Visconti, his pupil, was created Duke of Milan.

In consequence of this new election, there were no less than three individuals claiming the honours of sovereign pontiff at the same time. Gregory, the most active, called a council at Udini in Friuli, in which Benedict and Alexander were excommunicated. Yet, in the midst of his activity, he expressed his willingness to lay down his dignity, provided his rivals would do the same; he authorized the Emperor Robert, the King of Naples, and the King of Hungary, to name a place where a general council could meet, to decide on their claims, and he promised to abide by the decision of any such council.

Gregory appeals to
he emperor, and
others.

This measure was taken with some degree of finesse, as Gregory well knew that Ladislaus, the King of Naples, and Sigismund, had long been at war for the crown of Hungary, while

the latter, as he was aware, was the declared enemy of the emperor. It was therefore not likely that they would agree in a matter so important as the assembling of a general council.

Alexander, on his part, had notified his elevation to the sovereigns of Europe; but unfortunately, in his letter to Wencelaus, he addressed him as Emperor of the Romans, as well as King of Bohemia. This gave so much offence to Robert, that he declared the unguarded prelate an usurper. The death of Alexander put an end to his ambition and his intrigues, but not to the schism which his election had created; the cardinals of his party again met, and immediately selected one of their own number, the Cardinal of St. Eustatia, on whom they conferred the Papal dignity, and who assumed the name of John XXIII.

This prelate commenced his reign under rather favourable auspices, and was acknowledged by the greater part of Europe. Benedict had Scotland and Spain only in his favour; Gregory had the Emperor Robert, with some of the German states, among whom the Dukes Bernhard and Henry of Brunswick adhered steadily

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A.D. 1409.

Alexander appeals
to the other sove-
reigns of Europe.

The Dukes of
Brunswick adhere
to Gregory :

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to his interests, and maintained his authority over the churches in their dominions, though the state of their domestic affairs, as we have now to shew, allowed them little time to interfere in the general concerns of the church of Rome.

But are engaged in
civil war.

Henry, on his return from the diet at Frankfort, found his country invaded by Bernhard, Count of Lippe. That petty prince had united with a party of the turbulent nobles in his neighbourhood, and had taken and plundered some of the cities in the Duchy of Brunswick. The duke was therefore obliged to collect his forces, and to take the field against the invaders. But it is evident that he treated them with too much indifference, and was not at sufficient pains to concentrate his strength. In the first engagement, which he had with the banditti of Lippe, near the village of Oderberg, on the Weser, his troops were beaten, and he was himself taken prisoner, and conveyed in triumph to the Castle of Flackenberg, where he remained in confinement for a considerable time, and was not released until he had paid a large sum, and promised a still greater sum of money, as his ransom.

When the circumstances of this war, however, were brought before the emperor, he was very much displeased at the conduct of the count. Henry was forbidden to pay him any more money, and upon his refusing to refund what he had already obtained, he and his abettors were put under the imperial ban. The Duke of Brunswick was charged with the execution of that sentence, and as he was at greater pains in marshalling his troops, he opened his second campaign with better success than he had done his first. The fortress of Flackenberg, which so lately had been his prison, was taken and destroyed. The city of Horn, and several other places were also captured, and he was so indefatigable in pursuing the lawless hordes to their fastnesses in the mountains, that they were in a short time almost all destroyed. The highways became perfectly safe, and the heaths and forests, it is asserted, were cleared of all robbers and freebooters.

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A.D. 1409.

As a proof of the strict justice of this prince, we are told that on one occasion, when about to visit his brother at Luneburg, he despatched the Bailiff of Celle, to arrange for his accommodation on the road; and

An anecdote of
Duke Henry's strict
justice.

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A.D. 1409.

that this magistrate, finding himself but badly prepared against the inclemency of the weather, thought proper to make free with a farmer's cloak that was lying by the way-side. The honest farmer, who was engaged at his plough, saw the theft, and when the duke and his train came up, told him of the conduct of his officer. The duke immediately sent forward one of his attendants, and had the bailiff brought back, and as he was unable to deny the charge made against him, he was ordered to be hung up on the nearest tree. But when the sentence was to be put in execution, it was discovered that they had no rope wherewith to hang the criminal. The duke, who was not without an expedient, alighted, and taking the bridle from his horse's head, desired the executioner to make use of it, and it is added, that he remained on the spot, until the sentence was completed.

History of Duke
Bernhard.

Bernhard, the elder brother, soon after his establishment at Luneburg, acquired, by purchase, the county of Homburg, and as it happened that Wencelaus, who had acquired the mark of Brandenburg from his brother Sigismund, and had sold it, for a large sum, to his

cousins Josse and Procopius, Margraves of Moravia, was then endeavouring to put these princes in possession of the country, the people, who were adverse to this change, invited the Duke of Brunswick to oppose their settlement.

Bernhard, at their solicitation, took the field, and having conquered a portion of the Brandenburg states, he incorporated them with his own ; and as he was afterwards allowed to retain them, they became an integral part of the Duchy of Luneburg.

This prince is reported to have been a very liberal patron of the arts and sciences ; and to have paid great attention to the manufacture of gunpowder, which had then come into general use in the armies of Europe. He had a piece of ordnance made at Brunswick, which was long considered the wonder of the age. It is represented as weighing nine tons ; discharging a ball of above six cwt., and requiring fifty-two pounds of powder for its charge. It may have been viewed as a wonderful effort of the arts, at that early period, but must have been too unwieldy to be used as an effective instrument of war.

In 1410, the Emperor Robert was carried off

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The death of the
Emperor Robert.

by disease, at the village of Oppenheim, leaving the empire in a state of comparative tranquillity; and his death was no sooner announced, than the Elector of Mentz took upon himself to intimate that a diet would be held at Frankfurt, on the first day of September, for the purpose of nominating his successor. The King of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg demanded a further delay, as, from the continuance of the war between the states of Poland and Prussia, which bordered upon their respective territories, they were unable to attend the meeting on so early a day.

The ecclesiastical princes, and the Count Palatine, who were on the spot, paid little attention to this demand. They met on the day appointed, and after deliberating till the 20th, proclaimed Sigismund, King of Hungary, the Emperor elect. The absent electors were greatly surprised at the irregularity of their proceeding, and as soon as circumstances would admit, they also met, and on their part, declared Josse or Joseph, Marquis of Moravia, the lately made Elector of Brandenburg, head of the empire.

Irregular election of
Sigismund, and the
Marquis of Moravia.

By this misunderstanding and disagreement among the electoral princes, Germany may be said to have had three heads at the same time, as Wencelaus still claimed the government of the empire ; but, fortunately, the death of Josse left Sigismund without a rival ; and at a third meeting his election was unanimous.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1410.

Sigismund confirmed:

Sigismund was the second son of Charles IV., and in his fortieth year, when called to the throne of Germany. His character is variously represented by historians ; the Germans report him to have been as much distinguished for his talents, and correct conduct, as his elder brother was notorious for his ignorance and immorality ; but the Italians represent him as habitually cruel, and faithless in his public capacity, and in his private life debauched and voluptuous to the last degree.

His character:

He had no sooner, however, assumed the reins of government, than he took measures for securing tranquillity in the empire. At a diet, which he held at Nuremberg immediately after his election, he renewed the laws for the protection of commerce, and directed all the lately imposed duties to be suppressed. He was greatly shocked at the irregularities of his

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elder brother, and had an intention of marching an army into Bohemia, for the purpose of regulating the affairs of that kingdom, but was prevented from doing so, by being obliged to take the field in person against the republic of Venice.

His war with Venice :

That republic, from a very early period, had possessed the province of Dalmatia ; but in the fourteenth century, it had been wrested from them by Louis, King of Hungary, and annexed to his crown. It had, however, been restored, as a mortgage, by the son of Charles of Durazzo ; but when Sigismund became the peaceable possessor of the crown of Hungary, his first care was to recover the province, or to make the Venetians pay for it.

The King of Poland, and the Pope, John XXIII., had tried to arrange the matter amicably, but the pride of the Venetians would not admit of any compromise, beyond acknowledging the supremacy of the emperor. Sigismund was therefore obliged to order his generals to retake it by force, and war was declared against the republic.

In the first action, the Hungarians were successful, and Dalmatia was taken possession of,

and as their general considered that he had fulfilled his orders, he proceeded no further. The city therefore, had time to recover her spirits and to recruit her army; and the emperor now found that the preparations which she had made to regain the disputed province were only to be frustrated by the united energies of the empire.

This war with Venice endured for three years; but as soon as it was brought to a conclusion Sigismund turned his attention to the affairs of the church. Under his auspices, the celebrated Council of Constance met in 1412, for the avowed purpose of settling, not only the schism which existed among the members of the Catholic church, but equally to put an end to that heresy which agitated Bohemia, and was fast spreading into the other countries of Europe.

John Huss was summoned to meet the Fathers of the Church assembled at Constance, and having obtained a safe conduct from the emperor, appeared before them, ready to defend the doctrines he had promulgated. Instead, however, of proceeding to examine, or to refute his errors, the venerable members of this sacred council commenced their labours by de-

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1412.

He assembles the
Council of Con-
stance:

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1413.

The decision of this
council respecting
Huss :

nying the power of the emperor to afford him protection. They first mooted, and afterwards decided the question in the affirmative, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, or those accused of heresy. The emperor pleaded his promise to the accused, but they assured him that he could never be considered guilty of having broken that promise : that the general council of the church was paramount to all other authority, and as it had not granted to Huss any protection, the emperor could have no right to do so, without its sanction, and particularly in a case which concerned a matter of faith. It was by such arguments, and such reasoning, that they overcame the scruples of the emperor ; and John Huss, delivered over to his enemies, was immediately sent to prison, to await their leisure for his condemnation— it cannot be said for his trial.

His condemnation.

While the affair of the Popes occupied the attention of the council, the Professor of Prague seemed to be forgotten, but as soon as they were settled, he was dragged from his dungeon, his sentence pronounced, and his execution completed.

And death.

By this council, John XXIII. was deposed

from the papacy, and as it was found that his competitors had been improperly and illegally chosen, it was declared also that they were not entitled to the obedience of the faithful. Gregory, trusting to the advice of his pretended friends, sent in his resignation, and it was accepted, and as there was now only Benedict to contend with, Sigismund took upon himself to arrange matters with that prelate. For this purpose he left Constance, and proceeded to Narbonne, where he was met by the King of Aragon, and it was settled, that if Benedict would not consent to give in his resignation, he should be shut up in prison, or delivered over to the emperor's keeping. From Narbonne, the emperor then proceeded to Perpignan, where, after some delay, Benedict arrived. He was earnestly entreated by Sigismund, to resign his assumed title, but this he refused to do. "God," he said, "had placed him at the helm of the church, and he would not abandon that goodly ship in her present distressed and helpless condition. Though old, he was the more called upon to resist the tempest with all his remaining strength, and he would maintain his rights with his last breath."

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1414.

The emperor endeavours to heal the schism in the church:

Benedict refuses to comply with his wishes.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1414.

His obstinacy so irritated the emperor, that he left Perpignan, threatening to make Benedict do by force what he had refused to yield to reason. These threats compelled the aged priest to fly to Penniscola for safety, when the King of Arragon, and the princes who had hitherto adhered to his interests, deserted him, and joined the emperor and the Council of Constance.

The emperor, who had returned to Narbonne, left it as soon as this matter was arranged, and stopped for a short time at Lyons.

Sigismund visits Paris

From thence he proceeded to Paris. His avowed object in this visit, was to try and accommodate matters between Henry V. of England and the French king. But the French suspected him of acting in favour of England, and as he had little credit with Charles VI., he left Paris for London, whither William of Bavaria, Count of Holland and Zealand, the Archbishop of Bruges, and others, had preceded him, for the purpose of negotiating a peace.

And London.

These ambassadors repelled, as is known, the demand of Henry, in as far as the crown of France was concerned, but offered him the sovereignty of several states in that kingdom, and

the hand of Catherine, the king's daughter Sigismund, who advised Henry against accepting of these terms, remained in London till the month of August, and on taking leave at Canterbury, signed a league with him against France. He promised to assist in recovering Normandy and Guienne, while Henry engaged to support him, in maintaining the claims of the empire to the homage of Charles VI., and that of the other princes who held provinces which had anciently belonged to the crown of Germany. But the secret motive of the emperor, in thus courting the King of England, was to obtain a subsidy, and the assistance of a military force, for the defence of his kingdom of Hungary, which for a long time had been harassed by the inroads of the Turks, and was now nearly ruined.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1416.

During the absence of Sigismund, the fathers of the church had still held their meetings at Constance, and Jerome of Prague had been condemned for defending the doctrines of Huss, and had also been executed; but after these two murders, the public sittings of the council became less frequent, and their discussions of minor importance. Henry of Bruns-

The Council of Constance ends with the burning of Jerome of Prague.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1416.

Henry of Brunswick
dies, on his return
from Constance :

His family :

History of his brother
Bernhard con-
cluded.

wick was constant in his attendance at the council, and no prince was more consulted; but he was taken unwell, and obliged to leave Constance, and he died at Ulzen on the 2nd of October, 1416, when on his way to Brunswick. His first duchess was Sophia, daughter of the Duke of Pomerania, and by her he had one son, William, and a daughter, Catherine, who married the Elector of Saxony. His second duchess was a Princess of Hesse, by whom he left one son, named Henry. The first succeeded him at Brunswick, and the second obtained the city and province of Wolfenbittel, then erected into a sovereign principality.

Bernard was less active than his younger brother Henry, and spent his time chiefly in regulating the police of his own states, and in chastising the insolence of the lazy fraternity of monks that crowded the religious establishments in his capital. A quarrel happened between the burghers of Brunswick and the canons of the cathedral; the monks sided with the city, and excommunicated the canons, so that public worship was altogether interdicted. The Bishop of Hildesheim, and the Bishop of

Munster, presuming to meddle in the affair, Bernard took the field against them, and having overcome their troops in three separate actions, they were glad to allow him to settle the disputes of his clergy in his own way.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1416.

Bernard died in 1434, after a long and rather peaceable reign, and by his duchess, the daughter of Wencelaus, Elector of Saxony, he left two sons, Otho and Frederick, who succeeded him, and who, most wisely, did not divide their states.

Erick, Duke of Grubenhagen, the head of the Brunswick family, and the contemporary of Henry and Bernard, does not make any figure either in the history of Germany, or in the annals of his house. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of Otho the Strong, Duke of Gottingen, and had a family of eight children, —three sons, and five daughters; Ernest, his eldest son, became Provost of the cathedral at Halberstadt, and of the church at Eimbeck, and his younger sons, Henry and Albert, succeeded him at his death in 1427.

History of Erick,
Duke of Grubenhagen.

His family.

We have now brought down our history to another generation, the sixth from Otho the Child, and at this period, the representation of

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1416.

Number of princes
alive at this period:

the House of Brunswick stood thus: 1st, Ernest, the third of his name in this branch, and the eldest son of Erick, was Provost of Halberstadt, and head of the family of Brunswick, but his next brother, 2nd, Henry, also the third of his name in the same branch, was Duke of Grubenhagen, at Eimbeck, while 3rd, Albert, equally the third of his name, was a sovereign prince at Osterode; 4th, Otho Cocles still lived and reigned, as Duke of Brunswick Gottingen; but 5th, William, the eldest son of Henry, Duke of Brunswick, had got Calenberg, as his division of his father's states, and 6th, Henry, the youngest son, was established at Wolfenbittel; 7th, Otho, the eldest son of Bernard, Duke of Luneburg, had succeeded his father at Luneburg, and 8th, Frederick, his youngest son, had been made Sovereign of Celle. We have thus, one prelate and two sovereign princes of the Grubenhagen branch, and five sovereign princes in the branch of Brunswick; notwithstanding that the line of William I., Duke of Luneburg, had become extinct. Of the first, Ernest; we only know that he lived in the retirement of the cloister, and died childless, in 1464; when his brother Henry

Their history.

became the eldest prince of his house, but did not long enjoy that dignity, as he died in or about 1466.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1417.

Henry III. was succeeded by his only son, Henry IV. Albert III., whose life was spent in obscurity, married Elizabeth, daughter of the Count of Waldeck. He had five children,—four sons and a daughter, but only Philip, who succeeded him at Osterode, and Erick, who became Bishop of Osnaburg, and afterwards of Munster, survived him. Otho Cocles died without issue in 1463, when the principality of Gottingen fell to Frederick, the second son of William, Duke of Calemberg.

In 1417, the great schism in the church was finally settled by the unanimous election of Martin III. to the chair of St. Peter, but though the Council of Constance had burnt John Huss, and his disciple, Jerome of Prague, they could not stop the progress of their doctrines, and Bohemia became the theatre of the most sanguinary war that ever devastated the face of the earth. The Hussites, to avenge the murder of their apostle, had taken up arms, massacred the priests, and burnt the churches of the established religion ; while under the com-

The revolt of the
Hussites in Bohe-
mia:

BOOK VIII. mand of Ziska, their leader, they possessed
 A.D. 1419. themselves of the capital, and carried destruction into every part of the kingdom.

In the midst of these disorders, Wencelaus, the despised king of the country, and who still used the title of Emperor of the Romans, was carried off by an attack of apoplexy, and having no issue, the crown fell to his brother, the reigning emperor; but though well informed of the state of the kingdom, and the progress that had been made by the disciples of Huss, the terror of the Turkish sabres, that were hovering on the confines of Hungary, prevented him from marching to the suppression of their rebellion. At length, towards the end of 1420, he advanced upon Bohemia, accompanied by almost all the princes of Germany.

William, Duke of
 Brunswick, accom-
 panies the emperor
 against them.

William, Duke of Brunswick Calemberg, the fourth of the reigning princes now under review, joined Frederick the Warlike, Marquis of Misnia, and marched under his banner in this expedition. They entered the cities of Ellenbogen and Satz, where the Duke of Brunswick was left to besiege a castle, in which the Hussites had a strong garrison. His troops proceeding regularly, according to the tactics of

that age, were much annoyed by the repeated sallies of the besieged, who destroyed their approaches, and cut them off in detail. William, therefore, trusting more to the bravery of his soldiers than to the skill of his engineers, stormed the castle in the middle of the night, and took it at once; from thence he marched to Egra, which he also captured. He was preparing to join the Marquis, when his army was intercepted by a body of the enemy, which he routed. The joint forces of Misnia and Brunswick afterwards undertook the siege of the strong fortress of Bruk, but they were unable to conquer it, until they had been reinforced by the emperor in person. But in consequence of a quarrel with Sigismund, which arose from the following circumstances, Henry withdrew from the army, as soon as that fortress was taken.

BOOK VIII

A.D. 1420.

In the early part of the twelfth century, as stated in the first volume of these annals, Otho the Rich, Count of Ascanio, and Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria, married the two daughters of Magnus Billing, Duke of Saxony, on the Elbe; and the Guelphs, as the descendants of the eldest daughter, claimed and obtained possession of that duchy; but when Henry the

The origin of a quarrel between the emperor, and the family of Brunswick:

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1423.

Lion was proscribed, the Ascanian descendants of the younger Princess of Billing were preferred to that portion of the states which had been in his possession, and Bernard, the son of Albert the Bear, became Duke and Elector of Saxony in 1180. The descendants of this prince continued to hold the Electorate, till the æra at which we have now arrived, when Albert, who was the third of his name, and the last of his family, died without any direct male heirs in 1422.

This family claimed the Electorate of Saxony:

The princes of Brunswick claimed the succession of the extinct family, to which they always had a prior right; and their claim also was supported by one of those leagues of confraternity which were so common among the princely houses of Germany, and which had been agreed upon between the Elector Wencelaus and the Dukes of Brunswick in 1389. But the emperor had sold the reversion of Saxony to the Marquis of Misnia, and in spite of all the representations made by the princes of Brunswick, supported by the Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick the Warlike was invested with the Electorate; the injustice of this measure so disgusted Duke William, that on its being made public,

But it was given to the Marquis of Misnia.

he quitted Bohemia, as we have stated, and returned to his own territories.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1423.

William quits the army :

On his arrival at Brunswick, he found Henry, Count of Holstein, who was Duke of Sleeswick, engaged in a war with Erick X. of Denmark, and as the Duke was betrothed to a princess of the House of Brunswick, William joined him. Their united force amounted to thirty thousand men, and they attacked the Danes in the neighbourhood of Fleusburg, where, through the valour of William and his Brunswickers, the duke obtained a signal victory. In the siege of the castle, which followed that victory, the Duke of Sleeswick was killed, and as he left no heirs, the war was speedily terminated.

William, moved by devotion, or a desire to travel, some years after his return to his paternal dominions, made preparations for a journey to the Holy Land. He recommended his wife, who was a daughter of Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg, and his children, to the care of his brother Henry, and in 1430, left Brunswick for Palestine. The chronicles do not furnish us with any detail of the events that occurred during this pilgrimage, nor is it

Goes on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land :

A.D. 1430.

BOOK VIII. certain, that it was ever completed, and we only
 A.D. 1431. know, that on his return he visited the court of
 Has the command of the Austrian troops in Burgundy. Austria, and accepted the command of the Austrian troops, which were about to march into France, to support Charles VII., in his contest with Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and that at the head of these troops he crossed the Rhine, entered the province of Burgundy, and made so powerful a diversion in favour of the French king, that Philip was glad to listen to terms of peace.

During all these years, the Bohemian war had been carried on with unrelenting fury. The Hussites had obtained the command of the kingdom, and notwithstanding the numerous armies which the emperor and the Pope had sent against them, they had come off in almost every instance with decided advantage. The Pope, as a last resource, called a general council at Basle, and Procopius, the general of the Hussites, was invited to meet the Fathers of the Church on this occasion. He came attended by three hundred horse, and after several conferences, prevailed upon the council to agree to four articles, which, as they regarded religion, his party had commissioned him to insist upon.

The Council of Basle treats with the Hussites.

The first was, that the Word of God should be preached to the Bohemians, without molestation; the 2nd, that the laity should be permitted to take the sacrament of the Lord's supper, in both kinds; the 3rd, that a stop should be put to the acquisitions of the clergy; and the last, that all sins against the laws of God should be rigidly punished.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1431.

These articles were ratified by both parties, when the catholic states of Bohemia immediately appointed a member of their own body Lieutenant of the kingdom, in opposition to Procopius. This gave so much displeasure to the disciple of Huss, that he threatened to lay the kingdom waste, and actually laid siege to the city of Pilsen. This was what the emperor had long wished for, and he had often remarked, that the Bohemians could only be conquered by Bohemians; their division was therefore encouraged, and William, Duke of Brunswick, was selected to lead a body of Germans, to the support of their catholic brethren.

The Bohemians at
war with each other:

He advanced against New Prague, the strong hold of the Hussites, and was joined by such of the Bohemians as were in arms against Procopius. The city was strongly fortified, and well

Duke William again
in that kingdom:

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1432.

His success against
the Hussites:

guarded, and it was supposed, that much time would be necessary to reduce it; but William carried on the siege with so much vigour, that the garrison was obliged to capitulate, before Procopius could take any measures for their relief. The loss of this place so affected the Hussite general, that he raised the siege of Pilsen, set fire to his camp, and retired with so much haste, that a number of his wounded perished in the flames. His rage was so great, that he swore he would extirpate the whole nobility of the kingdom, though it should cost him his life.

And campaigns in
Germany.

We find that William quitted the Bohemian army, soon after the reduction of Prague, but for what reason is not stated. The next war in which he was engaged, was with the Archbishop of Mentz, whose troops he encountered, and overthrew, in the neighbourhood of Homburg. From Homburg, he joined the Count of Oldenburg, then at war with Maurice, a prince of his own family, who claimed the county of Delmenhorst. Maurice had many allies, and his troops were more numerous than those of Oldenburg and Brunswick; but the tactics of William carried the day, and in a

severe-fought action, near Siberg, the enemy were overthrown, and William remained master of the field.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1444.

We have now to remark, that during his absence, in his intended pilgrimage to the Holy Land, his brother Henry, whose quiet disposition had obtained for him the surname of the Pacific, had the audacity to turn his wife and children out of the castle of Wolfenbittel; this so incensed William, that as soon as the public interests admitted of his interference, he commenced a war against Henry, that greatly injured the states of both. Their friends, however, interfered, and peace was restored; and it is asserted, that William gave a noble instance of his magnanimity and disinterestedness, by accepting of a considerably less share of the paternal states, than he was in justice entitled to. But he was soon rewarded for this conduct, by the states that afterwards fell to him, and his family.

Conduct of his brother, during his absence:

William died in 1482, and by his duchess, Cecilia of Brandenburg, left two sons, William and Frederick, who succeeded him. He married secondly, a Princess of Schaumburg, but by her had only one son, who died young.

Death of Duke William.

BOOK VIII. He was surnamed the Victorious, from his
 A.D. 1446. success in war, and few princes were more engaged in the public service than he was during the whole of his long and active reign, which was extended to the uncommon age of ninety.

History of Henry: Henry, the brother of William, and the fifth in the list of the reigning princes, at this period, spent his whole life, with the exception of the contest with his brother, in peace and retirement. He married Helen, the daughter of Adolphus, Duke of Cleves, but as he left no male issue, his states, at his death, in 1473, reverted to his brother.

History of the other
 princes: Otho, the eldest son of Bernard, Duke of Luneburg, is the prince that comes next in rotation. He was a prince who dwelt at home, and employed himself in administering the affairs of his duchy with prudence and justice. He was much beloved by his subjects, and dreaded by the freebooters who still infested Germany, but the history of his life is barren of incident. He was made Protector of the See of Bremen, and held in esteem by all the princes, his neighbours.

Otho had married Elizabeth, the only child

of the Count of Everstein, and through this alliance, that county came to the family of Brunswick, but as he left no issue, he was succeeded, at his death in 1446, by his brother Frederick, who is the eighth and last reigning prince of this generation.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1463.

Frederick was not much known in public life, but his exemplary conduct in his private affairs obtained for him the surname of the Pious, or the Just. At his brother's death, he found the city of Luneburg so much in debt, that on the application of the magistrates, he tried to get the clergy to give up a portion of the duties on salt, which they enjoyed; but this they absolutely refused to do. He even made a journey to Rome, to solicit it as a boon from the Pope, but the Holy Father was as tenacious of the rights of the church as the clergy of Luneburg, and he returned disappointed. This obstinacy on the part of the ministers of religion, was the cause of much civil commotion in the duchy, and it was no sooner ended, than Frederick was solicited by the city of Munster, to take the command of their troops, against Walram, Count of Meurs, who, through bribery and corruption, had made his way to

Duke Frederick:

The transactions of
his life:

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1459.

the episcopal chair, against their opinion, and recommendation. Walram was the brother of the Archbishop of Cologne, consequently, that prelate supported his election, and headed a body of troops, that were destined to put him in possession of the bishoprick.

Frederick, when he was informed of the archbishop's advance, went out to meet him. The force which the citizens of Munster had put under his command was far inferior to that of his adversary ; but as he had ordered a body of his own troops to join him, he was in hopes of being able to meet the archbishop upon somewhat equal terms : in this, however, he was disappointed ; he was attacked before his troops could arrive, and though he defended his position with great bravery, his army was beaten, and he was made a prisoner. But he was so satisfied of the justice of the cause in which he had engaged, that he bore this adversity with great patience. His captivity lasted until the money agreed upon for his ransom could be raised, and that took up a considerable time ; but as soon as that was accomplished, he returned to Luneburg. He had founded a convent at Celle, which was dedicated to St. Francis, and as his

eldest son Bernard, was now of age, he retired from the world, with a determination to spend his life in the seclusion of the cloister.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1464.

Bernard however died soon after his father's retirement, when Otho, the younger brother, succeeded him in the government of the duchy; but this prince dying also in a few years, left it to an only son, an infant. Frederick therefore, to preserve the rights of this child, quitted his convent, and once more, A.D. 1471, took upon himself the supreme government. By his duchess, Magdelane, the daughter of the Elector of Brandenburg, he had only these two sons, both of whom, as we have stated, died before him, but the youngest, who was styled Otho the Magnanimous, had married Anne, Princess of Nassau Dellenburg, and had a son, Henry, who, at his grandfather's death, succeeded him in the duchy of Luneburg.

Death of his son
Bernard.

Death of Otho.

We are now arrived at the æra of another generation, when the representation of the House of Brunswick stood thus: 1st, Henry IV., the son of Henry III., was Duke of Grubenhagen, at Eimbeck, and the head of the Brunswick family. 2nd, Philip I., the son of Albert III. of the same line, reigned at Oste-

A.D. 1478.

The number of
reigning princes at
this period.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1478.

rode; 3rd, William, the eldest son of William the Victorious, had the principality of Wolfenbittel; 4th, Frederick, his brother, reigned in Brunswick; and 5th, Henry, the son of Otho the Magnanimous, and grandson of Frederick the Pious, was Duke of Luneburg. But before we proceed with the history of these princes, we must for a moment revert to the changes that had taken place in the empire.

General remarks on
the history of the
empire.

After the dispersion of the Hussites in 1434, the Bohemian states began to listen to reason; they made proposals to the emperor, which were accepted, and in the following year, Sigismund was acknowledged sovereign of that kingdom. In 1436, he was invited to come and take possession of the crown, as the country was then in a state of tranquillity; and after some minor arrangements had been completed, to the satisfaction of all parties, he entered Prague on the 26th of August, attended by the nobles and deputies of the cities, who vied with each other in doing him homage. Gratz was the only place that still held out against his authority, but it was soon subdued, and in February, 1437, the empress was crowned Queen of Bohemia, and the emperor employed himself

seduously, in regulating the affairs of that kingdom.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1478.

The monks and catholic clergy, that had been exiled during the war, were recalled and reinstated in their offices, but as the Hussites had disposed of the revenues of the church, he allowed a certain sum to be charged upon the royal treasury for their support. All the catholic states felicitated Sigismund on this happy change, and the Pope sent him a rose of gold, with a letter of congratulation. As the emperor, however, had no sons of his own, he began now to negotiate for the Duke of Austria, who had married his only daughter, and to prepare the way for his succeeding him in his several kingdoms. His health, which was fast declining, made him anxious to complete this measure; and he found the electors ready to agree to his wish (as regarded the crown of Germany); but the empress, who had other views, threw difficulties in the way of his being received as King of Bohemia. Sigismund, when on a visit to that country, for the purpose of removing these difficulties, expired at Zonoima, in the month of December, 1437, at the age of sixty-nine. He had reigned in

Death of Sigismund.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1478.

Hungary fifty-one years,—as emperor, twenty-seven; and as King of Bohemia, seventeen; and though the electors had every desire to raise his son-in-law to the vacant throne, they allowed four months to elapse before they met for that purpose.

Election of Albert:

Albert, the son-in-law of Sigismund, was the son of Albert IV., surnamed the Wonder of the World, Duke of Austria, and Joanna, a daughter of Albert of Bavaria, Count of Holland. He lost his father when he was only ten years of age. When the emperor gave him his daughter Elizabeth, he made him Marquis of Moravia, and, in her right, he became entitled to the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. To the first he succeeded as a matter of course, but some opposition was made to his claim to the latter. That opposition, however, was soon removed, and the Bohemians, in the month of May subsequent to his father-in-law's death, acknowledged his right to the succession. His election to the empire was unanimous, and he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the Archbishop of Cologne, but his reign was of short duration, as he was cut off by an attack of dysentery in October, 1439, at the age

The period of his
reign:

of forty-five. But short as it was, Albert is one of those princes to whom Germany owes much.

It was in a diet held at Nuremburg, in 1438, that he made arrangements for putting an end to the usual mode of deciding those disputes, which between princes had always led to a civil war, and among nobles of less importance, ended generally in personal duels. He divided the empire into four circles, in each of which he established an imperial chamber of justice, and not only charged each with the duty of maintaining peace among its own members, but also with the execution of the sentences pronounced by the chamber. Each circle had its own parliament or assembly of states, which was ordered to meet from time to time, for the regulation of its own proper affairs. The members were called together by the director of the circle, who might be considered as the civil governor; while the duke, or military commander, had the superintendence of all warlike expeditions, and had to see that each state furnished its proper quota of troops. There is no doubt that this arrangement was well calculated to prevent the recurrence of many abuses, and in the end, to civilize Ger-

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1478.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1478.

many; but though proposed and decreed by Albert, it was some time before a system so new could be expected to work well.

Soon after his death, the electors met at Frankfort, and Louis III., Landgrave of Hesse, was proposed as his successor; but Louis absolutely refused the dignity. He was content, he said, with the states left to him by his ancestors, and wished for no greater power than that which he already possessed.

Succeeded by Frederick.

The electors then fixed upon Frederick, the heir of the House of Austria, who was declared emperor, on the 12th of February, 1440, and succeeded as Frederick III. He was the eldest son of Ernest of Austria, Count of the Tyrol, and had succeeded the late emperor, as his heir male, and it was this prince who governed the empire at the period to which we have brought down our family annals.

Albert II. had left his empress pregnant at his death, and as she was delivered of a son, he became entitled to the hereditary crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, but the unsettled spirit of the people of the latter nation led them to wish anxiously for some change. They considered their crown elective, and not hereditary,

and accordingly offered it to Albert of Bavaria, a prince who had been brought up at the court of Wencelaus. The magnanimity of Albert, however, made him refuse their offer, and he gave such a lecture to the deputies, who waited upon him, that they were brought back to a sense of what was due to their infant king.

It was at the commencement of the reign of Frederick III. that the art of printing was discovered; and during the period of fifty-three years and four months, that he occupied the throne of Germany, an entire generation had passed away. Tournaments were abolished, many of the ancient usages of Europe had sunk into oblivion, and a new æra had begun to dawn upon a long-benighted world.

Maximilian, the eldest son of Frederick, was elected King of the Romans, during his father's lifetime, and succeeded to the empire as a matter of course, when the throne became vacant in 1493. His marriage with the heiress of Burgundy added greatly to the power and wealth of the House of Austria, and laid the foundation for its permanent possession of the crown of Germany.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1478.

Maximilian succeeds
his father.

But we must now return to the anna

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1478.

History of the princes
of Brunswick resum-
ed.

of the House of Brunswick, and proceed to give some account of the princes who lived during the reigns of Frederick and Maximilian.

The first in the list is Henry IV., the only son of Henry III., Duke of Grubenhagen, and the head of his ancient family; this prince passed his life in comparative retirement; he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, but left no issue, and his states, at his death in 1526, were inherited by his cousin Philip, the eldest son of Albert III., Duke of Grubenhagen at Osterode.

Frederick the Tur-
bulent.

As the history of Philip, the next in succession, is more immediately connected with that of the succeeding generation, we shall pass it over for the present. The fourth in the list of reigning princes at this period, was Frederick, surnamed the Turbulent, who, from disappointment or disease, became of unsound mind, and died at Munster in 1495. He was the second son of William the Victorious, and had Brunswick for his inheritance. He married first, Anne, daughter of Erick, a son of Philip of Grubenhagen, and secondly, Margaret, Countess of Rothberg; but as he left

no issue, he was succeeded by William, his elder brother, who is the third in our list.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1480.

William, as the eldest son of this branch of the family, had received Calenberg as his patrimony, but being a prince of great talents, was intrusted with the general management of the states of Brunswick, when his father retired from the government. He was held in high consideration by the princes of Germany, and was esteemed and trusted by the Emperor Frederick III. In 1473, while he was still a young man, the chapter and citizens of Cologne got into a dispute with their archbishop, who was Rupert or Robert, the brother of the Elector Palatine, and being disappointed of support from the emperor, to whom they had made known their complaints, they nominated Herman, a Prince of Hesse, and at that time Provost of the church of Aix-la-Chapelle, as their administrator or governor. Herman took the field against the archbishop, at a time when the Emperor Frederick was at Treves, arranging with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, the marriage of the only daughter of that prince with his eldest son Maximilian. But as their plans were thwarted

William the Young-
er:

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1480.

Assists the Bishop of
Cologne:

at that time by the intrigues of the King of France, history informs us that they parted in anger. Charles the Bold took the part of the archbishop, and the emperor sided with the administrator of Cologne. The Duke of Burgundy, under a pretence of restoring the prelate to his rights, had laid a plan for securing the Electorate to himself; but as his designs became evident, the chapter took more effectual means to oppose them. Herman withdrew to the strong fortress of Neus, or Nuits, which was immediately besieged by Charles, and as the garrison had taken an oath never to surrender, and the Duke of Burgundy made a vow that he would conquer or perish, the desperate nature of the contest soon attracted the notice of the princes of Germany.

The Chapter of Cologne therefore urged the emperor to send succour to their brave champions, and called upon the neighbouring states to come to their support; and William of Brunswick, notwithstanding his youth, was amongst the first that attended to their call. He advanced at the head of a formidable body of his own troops, and being joined by others from Strasburg and Alsace, forced Charles to

raise the siege, and in a short time compelled him to listen to terms of peace.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1485.

He returned to Brunswick, and received his father's thanks for his gallant conduct in this expedition, and shortly afterwards acquired, by purchase, the city of Helmstadt, which had long been the property of the Abbot of Verden. But he became disgusted with a public life, and retired in 1491 to the city of Gottingen. He divided his states between his two sons, Henry and Erick: giving to the eldest Brunswick and Wolfenbittel, and to the youngest Calemburg. He had married, early in life, a daughter of the Count of Stollberg Wernigerode, and his two sons were therefore old enough to govern. He had one daughter, Anne, who married William, Landgrave of Hesse. William died in 1505, and Gottingen, which he had retained in his own possession, then fell to his youngest son, Erick.

A.D. 1491.

Of the princes Bernhard and Otho, who successively governed the duchy of Luneburg, during the lifetime of their father, Frederick the Pious, though they all belong to the previous generations, we have still to observe, that Bernhard was Bishop of Hildesheim when his

Bernhard, son of William.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1498.

Otho, the brother of
Bernhard.

father retired to the cloister; but getting absolved from his vows, married Matilda, the daughter of Otho, Count of Schaumburg, and after reigning for five years, died without issue in 1464. Otho, the next and only brother, when he succeeded to the government, found the nobles of the duchy leagued together in plundering confederacies, to the great disturbance of the peace of the country, and in defiance of his sovereign authority. The first years of his reign were therefore spent in reducing them to order and subjection, and we are told that in this contest the powerful family of Bulow lost the castle of Hitzacre, and were deprived of their fiefs, in consequence of their repeated acts of insubordination.

Henry, son of Otho.

Otho married, as we formerly stated, Anne, daughter of John, Count of Nassau, and by her had two sons, William and Henry; the first died in his childhood, but the second lived to succeed him, and became the common ancestor of all the existing branches of the House of Brunswick. Otho held the government of Luneburg for seven years, and at his death in 1471, his father as we have also stated, left his retirement, and resumed the regency for his

grandson, who was only in the third year of his age. Frederick the Pious lived till 1478, when his grandson and successor, still a minor, was left under the guardianship of his mother, Anne, a princess of great prudence, who contrived to secure the friendship of the Emperor Frederick and his son Maximilian, and under their protection, the states of Luneburg enjoyed tranquillity, and increased in wealth.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1498.

We have now to commence in some measure with a new generation, but before we proceed to the individual history of each reigning prince, we shall recapitulate their names, as they stood towards the end of Maximilian's reign; 1st, Philip I., Duke of Grubenhagen, was now the head of the family, and was in possession of the greater part of the states belonging to that original branch; 2nd, Henry, the eldest son of William the younger, was Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbittel; 3rd, Erick, his brother, held Calemberg and Gottingen; while, 4th, Henry, the only prince of the Luneburg branch, held that duchy in its entire state; the first and the last were included in our former list.

A.D. 1515.

Number of reigning
princes at the end of
Maximilian's reign :

Philip came to the regency of Grubenhagen

Philip, Duke of Grubenhagen :

BOOK VIII. Osterode, at his father's death in 1490, but did
 ——— not succeed to the possession of the whole
 A.D. 1515. states, till the death of his cousin Henry IV. in
 1526. He had an only brother, named Erick,
 who was made Bishop of Osnaburg in 1508,
 and Bishop of Munster in 1532.

Assists Henry of
 Wolfenbittel against
 the Wursati:

At the commencement of his reign, he was
 engaged with Henry of Wolfenbittel, in re-
 ducing to subjection a people denominated the
Wursati, who dwelt in what was called the
 Hadelenland, and who had refused to pay
 tithes to the see of Bremen, to which they
 were considered as belonging. Magnus, Duke
 of Saxe-Lawenburg, had tried at different times
 to get possession of their small country, when
 the Bishop of Bremen finding himself unable
 to cope with the Saxons, conferred upon Chris-
 topher, a younger brother of Henry of Wolfen-
 bittel, the advocacy or coadjutorship of the see.
 This secured the assistance of the House of
 Brunswick, and brought them into the field
 against the Duke of Lawenburg, and obliged
 him to cease from troubling the country; but
 the refractory peasants denied the authority of
 the bishop and his coadjutor, and it was not

till Philip and Henry had marched an army into their territory, that they could be brought to obedience.

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1515.

The Wursati, though few in number, made a desperate struggle for what they considered their just rights. The women marched to the field with their husbands and brothers, and their standard was borne by a female of gigantic height and great bravery, who was known as the Fair Maid of Friesland. In a well-contested action, which they had with the Brunswickers, this female warrior and many others were slain, and her standard was taken. The remnant, however, that escaped, submitted to the conquerors, and were treated, as we are told, with great humanity; but to keep them in subjection, it was found requisite to build a strong fortress in the heart of their country, and to have it garrisoned by the troops of Brunswick. This was so galling to the natives, that they secretly combined together, and in an unguarded moment, got possession of the fortress, turned out the garrison, and levelled it to the ground. Philip and Henry therefore were again under the necessity of marching a force into the country, but they met with little resist-

BOOK VIII.

A.D. 1515.

ance, and soon brought the inhabitants to a sense of their duty.

Philip, with the other princes of his house, shortly after this expedition, became engaged in transactions of greater moment; but as these properly belong to the history of the next generation, we shall for the present return to the private history of Henry, who is the second in the list.

History of Henry,
Duke of Wolfen-
bettel.

At the commencement of Henry's reign, the cities of the Hanseatic league had begun to know their own strength, and had assumed powers that were considered incompatible with the prerogatives of the sovereigns, in whose dominions they were situated.

Revolt of the city of
Brunswick.

Brunswick, as one of the principals of the league, was not backward in asserting her immunities, many of which Henry denied, and would not sanction. An amicable arrangement was attempted, but the city refused to yield, and Henry was obliged to have recourse to an armed force, the only method of settling disputes in those days.

The citizens, proud of their wealth and their numbers, beheld his advance with indifference, and took no measures to prepare for their de-

fence and Henry arrived before his capital, about the beginning of winter. There were few regular troops in the city, and but a scanty supply of provisions; yet it was too well fortified to be taken by a *coup de main*, and, therefore, it became necessary to commence the siege, or rather blockade with some degree of regularity. This siege lasted the whole of the winter, the next summer, and great part of the autumn; as the duke's success depended more upon his being able to starve the citizens into terms, than upon any other means, which he had within his power to conquer them.

BOOK VIII.

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Is besieged by Henry:

The allies of Brunswick during that delay were not idle, they had collected a strong force, and a large quantity of provisions at Hildesheim, which they conducted in safety to the castle of Peine; from thence they effected a communication with the besieged, and a concerted movement was agreed upon. Their plan however was discovered by the duke, who determined to prevent its taking place. His army was withdrawn from the siege, and moved in the direction of Peine, with a view to surprise the enemy, before the citizens could be aware of his absence.

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But his march was discovered, and the garrison sallying out attacked him in the rear, while their allies advanced upon his front, and unexpectedly he found himself opposed to a force greatly superior to his own. Had the enemy known how to take advantage of their situation, they might have gained an easy victory. But they took up a position, where they had not space to manœuvre, and though neither party could claim a victory, the Hanse towns had so far the advantage, that they succeeded in throwing supplies into Brunswick.

A compromise effected.

The burghers were relieved from their greatest enemy, famine, but as both armies had suffered a severe loss in the late struggle, they commenced a negotiation, which ended in a compromise, and each party agreed to submit the matter in dispute to the arbitration of independent princes, to be mutually named. The cause was afterwards argued before the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, but there is no evidence, that Henry gained any thing more than a nominal admission of sovereignty over his proud city.

His next campaign, was against the city of

Hanover, also a member of the league, and whose magistrates had followed the example of Brunswick. Henry endeavoured to steal a march upon this city; and approached it under the cloud of night. He had planned, that his soldiers should rush into the town when the gates were first opened in the morning, but a peasant having discovered his concealed force, found means to apprize the garrison of their danger, and when the day dawned, they were found at their posts, and so well prepared to resist his assault, that he judged it prudent to retire. He engaged afterwards in a war in Friesland, and was killed by a random shot, while employed in investing the castle or fortress of Lecropt, 1514.

This prince is the only member of his house, to whom the epithet of *bad* has been applied by contemporary historians. He married in 1486, Catherine, the daughter of Erick II., Duke of Pomerania, and by her had six sons, and two daughters. Christopher, his eldest son, was made Archbishop of Bremen, in 1502, and was the prince for whom Philip took up arms against the Wursati. In 1511, he was made Administrator of Verden, and died in 1558, without

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The city of Hanover
attacked by Henry :

But saved.

Henry's family.

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issue. Henry, the second son, succeeded his father ; Erick, the third son, was commander of the Teutonic order at Coblentz, and was killed in a war with the peasants in 1525 ; he left no issue ; Francis, the fourth son, was elected Bishop of Minden in 1505, and died without issue in 1529 ; he was succeeded by his brother George, the fifth son of Henry, who also died childless in 1566. William, Henry's youngest son, was a commander of the Teutonic knights at Mirow in Mecklenburg, where he died in 1558. Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, became abbess of Stederburg, and Catherine, his second daughter, married Magnus the Second, Duke of Saxe-Lawenburg.

History of Erick :

Erick, the third prince in the list, received as his patrimony the states of Calenberg, and at his father's death the principality of Gottingen. When only eighteen years of age, he set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and after viewing the wonders of the Holy Land, proceeded to Rome, where, it was said, he became so disgusted with the profligacy of the papal court, that he returned to his native land, with his mind prejudiced against the ministers of the catholic church.

Attached by private friendship to Maximilian, the eldest son of the emperor, he joined the standard of that prince, and served his first campaign against the Hungarians in Austria. He was the first to plant the Austrian standard on the walls of the castle of Vienna; and though recalled from this expedition in 1491, to take possession of Calenberg, we find him next year in the suite of Maximilian, arranging the disputed succession of the Palatine family to the states of Bavaria, after the death of Duke George, surnamed the Rich.

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The friend of Maximilian:

Dispute regarding the Palatine succession:

Rupert, or Robert, the son-in-law of George, who was sovereign of the County Palatine, claimed Bavaria as his wife's portion, but his title was disputed by Albert IV., who was the nearest male heir. Maximilian, as the brother-in-law of Albert, favoured his pretensions, while Louis XII. of France, and Ladislaus, King of Bohemia, supported Rupert. This consequently brought on a civil war, in which the other powers soon took a part. Rupert however died before the commencement of hostilities, but Philip, who succeeded him in the palatinate

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supported the claims of his children to the sovereignty of Bavaria.

France failed in her promises to Albert, but as the Bohemians continued faithful, he was able to bring a considerable army into the field.

Erick engaged with Maximilian in this dispute :

Erick, Duke of Calemberg, was detached by Maximilian, to engage the Bohemian forces before they could join Albert's head-quarters, and he not only succeeded in intercepting their advance, but after a hard-fought action, in which two thousand were slain, forced them to return back upon their own country. The emperor joined him during the action, and exposed himself so much, that he received a blow with an iron flail, (a weapon much used by the warlike Bohemians,) that made him fall from his horse, and he would have been taken by the enemy, had not Erick hastened to his assistance, and after much personal risk, brought him off in safety.

Saves the emperor.

Maximilian was so pleased with his valour and presence of mind on this occasion, that he gave him the endearing title of brother, and added to his coat of arms a bright star, saying, " that as the morning star outshone all

others in brightness, so the valour of Erick of Brunswick was superior to that of any other prince of the empire." After that victory, Erick laid siege to Kūfstein, a fortress in the Tyrol, and a place of such strength, and so well garrisoned, that it was considered impregnable; the walls were fourteen feet thick, and the garrison were so convinced of their security, that whenever a cannon-ball hit their defences, they had the place swept clean by way of derision. The emperor, irritated at the obstinacy of their defence and this insolence, took an oath, that neither man nor woman should escape; and when the place was captured, he would certainly have kept his oath, but for the magnanimity of the Duke of Brunswick, who could admire bravery even in an enemy, and through whose interference, a great proportion of the gallant defenders of Kūfstein were saved.

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Attacks Kūfstein.

From Bohemia, the services of Erick were transferred into Italy, and in the emperor's war against the republic of Venice, he became as distinguished as he had been in Germany. He continued to be the trusted friend of the emperor, during the whole of his reign, though he retired from his command in the imperial

Erick accompanies
the emperor into
Italy:

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Returns to Germany:

army in 1515, and occupied himself in the regulation of his own private affairs.

His war with Hildesheim:

The bishoprick of Hildesheim was governed at that period, by a prince of the House of Lawenburg, who, ambitious of distinction, was anxious to add to his government some of the neighbouring provinces, belonging to the House of Brunswick. He began by exciting a spirit of rivalry among the princes of that house, while he secretly organized a force within his own bishoprick. As long as Maximilian lived, he was cautious in his proceedings, as he knew that the strict friendship which existed between that monarch and Duke Erick would bring upon him the ban of the empire; but no sooner was the emperor's death announced, than he took the field, and made an irruption into the bishoprick of Minden, which was held by Francis, one of Erick's nephews. By the suddenness of his advance, he surprised the cities of Minden and Petershagen, and flushed with that success, boldly entered the principality of Calemberg:

And the Duke of Luneburg:

Erick, and his nephew Henry, who had succeeded to Wolfenbittel, made reprisals upon Hildesheim; they attacked the fortress of

Peine, which being strong by nature, and well garrisoned, offered considerable resistance. The bishop, however, became alarmed for his capital, which was less capable of defence, and offered such terms, as induced Erick to withdraw his troops; but finding that the treaty was not adhered to by the ambitious prelate, who had succeeded in procuring the assistance of Henry of Luneburg, the duke and his nephew entered the territory of their kinsman, and carried the war into the bosom of their own family.

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The bishop pursued them into Luneburg, and having united with his ally, their two armies met on a heath, near the village of Soltau, where a sanguinary battle was fought. The Duke of Luneburg and the Bishop of Hildesheim gained the victory, and it is reported that upwards of three thousand of the vassals of Brunswick were slain, and that Erick and his nephew William were taken prisoners, with a great part of their army.

Is taken prisoner.

In this action, the troops of Luneburg and Hildesheim greatly outnumbered those of Brunswick; but besides this inferiority, a disagreement had arisen among the Brunswickers and their allies of Hesse, respecting the nature

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of the animal borne on the standard* of the latter, which however ridiculous it may appear, prevented their cordially supporting each other, and contributed not a little to their mutual defeat. After the battle, the electors of Mentz, Saxony, and Brandenburg thought proper to interfere, and a truce was commanded, until the dispute could be heard and decided by the new emperor.

Charles V. elected
emperor :

On the same day that the battle of Soltau was fought, Charles V. was elected to the imperial throne, and in the first diet that he held at Worms, Duke Erick and the Bishop of Hildesheim appeared to plead their cause before him. Charles was offended with the bishop, more on account of his having created a disturbance in the empire, which might have retarded his election, than from any consideration of the irregularity or injustice in his proceedings, and he pronounced sentence against him. He was commanded to forbear from hostilities in future, and to release the Princes of Wolfenbittel without ransom, and was threat-

* The Brunswick soldiers ridiculed the emblazoning of the Lion on the standard of Hesse, and maintained it was a dog, and not a true lion.

ened with the ban of the empire, if he refused obedience to these orders. The prelate was too proud of his own talents as a general, to take this intimation in good part; he set the imperial edict at defiance, and prevailed upon the Duke of Luneburg to do the same; the consequence was, that Charles took the matter up as a personal insult, and believing that they were secretly supported by Francis I., who had been his rival for the crown, he, without hesitation, proscribed both the bishop and the Duke of Luneburg, and commanded the Duke of Brunswick to see the ban executed.

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And decides in the
cause of the war:

Erick commanded to
put the ban in force.

Erick and his nephew took the field under the imperial mandate; they preferred making war upon the bishoprick, rather than destroying their kinsman's states, but though they laid waste the country, and made themselves masters of the open towns, they were foiled in their attempts to take Hildesheim and Peine. This war had lasted for four years, when the emperor again interfered, and directed the electors of Mentz, Saxony, and Brandenburg to settle matters without the further effusion of human blood. They accordingly decided that each party should lay down their arms, and re-

BOOK VIII. main in possession of what they had conquered,
 A.D. 1520. while the prisoners on both sides should be set
 at liberty.

Erick afterwards employed himself in building a castle, which was named Ericksburg, and the remainder of his days were spent in retirement. He died in 1540, leaving one son by the Princess Elizabeth of Brandenburg, who succeeded him as Erick II.

History of Henry, Duke of Luneburg. We have already anticipated a great part of the private history of Henry of Luneburg, the fourth and last prince in the list of the present generation. His alliance with the Bishop of Hildesheim subjected him to all the penalties of the imperial ban, and though his relations spared the duchy, in their execution of the emperor's orders, they could not prevent the bad effects of his proscription from taking effect. Henry therefore resigned the government of the states of Luneburg to his three sons, and fled from Germany. He resided in France till 1527, when he returned to Luneburg, at the request of the catholic priesthood; the ban, however, was not repealed till 1530, but as he lived in retirement, his person was not molested. He died at Weinhausen in 1532, and left by his

duchess, Margaret, the daughter of Ernest, Elector of Saxony, three sons, Otho, Ernest, and Francis, who succeeded him.

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We have now arrived at that eventful period, when the light of the Reformation began to dawn upon Europe, and when a knowledge of the contents of the holy scriptures first dispelled some of those dark clouds of ignorance and superstition, which had so long enveloped the minds of men and of princes. The art of printing had made the sources of knowledge comparatively easy of access, and though John Huss had been burnt at the stake, and the strong arm of power had dispersed his followers, the spirit of inquiry had gone abroad, and the dogmas of the schools were no longer received as the infallible oracles of truth.

General reflections.

It was in 1517, that Martin Luther, a native of Eisleben in the county of Mansfeldt, and Electorate of Saxony, first called the attention of his countrymen to the abuses of the catholic church, and began to preach those doctrines which at the commencement agitated the whole of Europe, and in the end severed from the dominion of Rome a great portion of the civilized world.

The rise and progress of the temporal domi-

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nion of the spiritual head of the catholic church, and the causes which led to his downfall, involve a subject of inquiry of great interest; and though these annals aspire to no higher aim than a dry and often tedious detail of historical facts, it may not be improper, before we proceed to consider that war of religion, in which the princes of Brunswick became so deeply engaged, to give a short view of the history of the church, from the first establishment of a Roman bishop, to the commencement of the Reformation in the sixteenth century; more particularly, as the princes of the Guelphic family make a conspicuous figure in upholding the supremacy of that church, and were more concerned than any others in the maintenance of the Popes in their temporal authority; though when the progress of knowledge began to open the eyes of mankind to the abuses of that authority, they also were amongst the first to join in supporting the necessary reforms.

When the northern invaders took possession of the Roman empire, we are informed that they found the clergy amply endowed, for even previous to the conversion of Constantine they had got the management of many immoveable

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estates, and under the colourable pretext of providing for the maintenance of the poor, held them in defiance of that Roman law, which prohibited the tenure of lands in mortmain. But as the first act of that Christian monarch was to secure, by a legal sanction, the acquisitions of the church, her right to territorial property became no longer a matter of dispute. The edict of Milan in 313, recognised the actual estates of ecclesiastical incorporations, and another, published in 321, granted to all the subjects of the empire, the power of bequeathing their property to the church.

The liberality of Constantine, and his successors, set an example, which was almost universally imitated, and the clergy, passing rapidly from a state of poverty and persecution, to one of great wealth, soon degenerated from their original purity and holiness. Covetousness is said to have become a vice almost characteristic of their body, and there was a law of Valentinian I., as early as 370, which prohibited them from receiving the bequests of women.

The conquerors of Gaul and Italy were less enlightened than the subjects of the empire,

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and more distinguished for their superstitious reverence of the priesthood. Though they abandoned the worship of their national idols, and acceded to the rites of Christianity, they still retained that credulity, which seemed to invite imposture, and laid the foundation of that veneration for relics, the worship of images, the idolatry of saints and martyrs, with the religious inviolability of sanctuaries, the consecration of cemeteries, and above all, the doctrine of purgatory and masses for the dead, which, in the first instance, were introduced into the church with the best intentions, but afterwards promoted for purposes of fraud, and have since become an essential part of the catholic creed. "A creed thus contrived," says Hallam *, "operating upon the minds of barbarians, lavish, though rapacious, and devout, though dissolute, naturally caused a torrent of opulence to flow in upon the church. Donations of land were continually made to the bishops, and in a still more ample proportion to the monastic foundations."

To die, without allotting a certain portion of worldly wealth to pious uses, came to be almost

* History of the Middle Ages.

accounted like suicide ; and there are many and striking instances in the early history of the Guelphic princes, of their liberality and unbounded munificence, in founding monasteries, and endowing bishopricks, within the limits of their ancient kingdom of Bavaria.

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In a short time, the clergy were possessed of almost all the wealth of every Christian country. In England, they had acquired the property of more than one half of the soil, and in many of the states of the western empire a still greater proportion. The payment of tithes was recommended, and enjoined upon the authority of the Jewish law. But as parochial divisions, as they now exist, did not take place till many centuries after the establishment of Christianity in Europe, the bishop received the tithes where they could be collected, and apportioned them as he thought fit. A capitulary of Charlemagne, which established the legality of demanding tithes, regulated their division into three parts ; one was allotted for the support of the bishop and his clergy, another for the maintenance of the poor, and the third portion was for building and supporting the fabric of the churches.

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That capitulary, however, was not a new law, but rather the confirmation of a very ancient, if not an original, canon of the Christian establishment. The payment of tithes was first enjoined by the canons of a provincial council in France near the end of the sixth century. Most of the sermons preached during the eighth century, inculcated it as a duty, and even seem to place the summit of Christian perfection in the performance of that duty; but the capitulary of Charlemagne is the first legal enactment that gave the confirmation of a civil statute to these ecclesiastical injunctions.

The obligation of paying tithes, was originally confined to what were called "the Predial," or the Fruits of the Earth; but about the commencement of the thirteenth century, it was extended to every species of profit, and to the wages of every kind of labour, and it was at this period that the clergy had reached their zenith, in respect of territorial property.

We have to remark further, that in proportion as the church acquired wealth, her pastors gained power and political influence. Under the Roman emperors, they had indeed found their way into palaces; sometimes as ministers, but

more frequently as secret councillors; but in the newly established kingdoms, which arose upon the ruins of the Roman power, they obtained a more decided influence, and were, in conformity to the free institutions of these kingdoms, admitted to the deliberative assemblies of the people.

The northern nations did not understand the difference between secular and spiritual legislation, and, therefore, the bishops acquired and retained their ascendancy, by their intellectual superiority. They alone were acquainted with the art of writing, and to them was intrusted all political correspondence, and the registering of the laws; but great as were the authority and privileges of the church, the clergy still continued subject to the supremacy of the crown, both during the existence of the western empire, and after its subversion; and though Charlemagne, from policy, exalted the hierarchy, he would never surrender his own judgment to any ecclesiastical authority, even in matters purely theological. Yet it is evident, that the prelates then submitted with reluctance to a supremacy, which in the reign of so powerful a monarch, they dared not control. In the reign of

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his son Louis le Debonnaire, they assumed an independence that nearly cost him his life; and their interference with the affairs of his government was not only the cause of the rebellion of his sons, but the source of many of his domestic sufferings; and we find that in proportion as the descendants of Louis lost their influence in their respective states, the church rose in authority.

The divided and distracted state of the empire served to confirm the power of the religious communities, while the influence which the head of the church acquired in the secular affairs of Europe, completely changed the face of the whole political horizon. Long before the earliest epoch that can be fixed upon for the commencement of modern history, the bishops of Rome had been venerated as first in rank among the prelates of the church; and although at the commencement of Christianity, they only presided over the Roman vicariate, they soon acquired a more extensive dominion. Gregory I. extended his spiritual authority into France; but Winfrid, or as he is called, St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, was the first to bring the churches of the western em-

pire, under the dominion of the Popes. This he effected in a synod, held at Frankfort, in 742.

The grant made by Pepin, of the states held by the eastern emperors in Italy, and the liberal donations of Charlemagne, established the temporal supremacy of the Roman bishops over many of the most flourishing provinces in the south, and laid the foundation of what was subsequently called the church's patrimony. But though these bishops had long usurped the privilege of consecrating the prelates of the Latin church with what was called the pallium or vest, the emperors still retained the power of investing them with the ring and crosier, as an induction to the temporalities of their respective sees.

When the authority of the Popes became more firmly established, that right was disputed; and we have seen how the dispute about these investitures, led to the ruin of Henry IV. It was Gregory VII. who succeeded in wresting that ancient custom from the head of the western empire, and from his days the right of trampling upon the necks of kings was received, at least among churchmen, as the inherent attribute of the papacy. Innocent III.,

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one of the boldest pretenders to universal dominion that ever filled the chair of St. Peter, announced himself as the general arbiter of differences, and the conservator of the peace of Christendom. This temporal supremacy, however unjustly usurped, was sometimes, in the hands of good men, beneficially exerted; no control, but that of religion, was sufficient to restrain the abuses of society; and the vicar of Christ on earth, made his voice be heard, and his commands obeyed among all orders of Christian men. The noon-day of papal dominion extends from the reign of Innocent III. inclusively, to that of Boniface VIII; for Rome, during that period, inspired all the terror of her ancient name: she was once more the mistress of the world, and kings were her vassals.

In all those kingdoms founded upon the ruins of the Roman empire, the persons and estates of ecclesiastics were secured from taxation, and they remained so till the period of the Crusades. But the holiness of that enterprise, in which the princes of Europe engaged so zealously, was considered a sufficient justification for invading church property. The Pope demanded, and the lay princes required, from

their subjects, as a tax or contribution, a tenth of all moveable property, and that, which was known as the famous Saladine tax, was levied upon the clergy as well as the laity.

Innocent III. availing himself of the innovation, exacted, in 1199, a tribute, of one-fortieth part of her moveable estate from the whole church, to be paid to his own collectors. He pledged himself indeed, that the money should be applied to the purposes of a crusade; but that term which was originally applied to the recovery of the Holy Land, was soon extended by ambition and bigotry, to any war that the Pope commanded. Gregory IX. preached a crusade against the Emperor Frederick II., in a quarrel which only concerned his temporal principality, and the Church of England was taxed to carry on that war.

What had once been introduced, as a source of revenue, was easily continued, and in a short time no bounds were set to papal exactions, though the sums collected were far from satisfying the avarice of the sovereign pontiffs. Boniface VIII., founding it upon some traditionary evidence, established a jubilee at Rome, in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, and all who

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visited the capital during that jubilee were granted plenary indulgences, and a full remission of their sins, upon payment of a certain sum. His device was found to answer so well, that from being centenary, as was at first declared, the term was reduced to fifty years, and afterwards to twenty-five. But the sensible decline of the papacy may be dated from the death of Boniface VIII.; his successors were more ambitious of accumulating wealth, for the benefit of their relations and favourites, than of maintaining the authority and sanctity of their office, and although the sovereigns of Europe were too often sharers in the plunder exacted from their subjects, to offer any effectual resistance to the continued demands from Rome; these soon became so frequent, and so oppressive to the laity, and even to the clergy, that the reverence which they had so long felt for the head of the church became much weakened.

The great schism too which we have noticed in the preceding pages, and which took place in 1377, was another cause, and perhaps the greatest, (if we except the Reformation, that had now commenced) of the decline of the papal

supremacy, and led gradually to that crisis we are about to notice, in the progress of these annals. The councils which were called for the healing of the schism, had attempted the reformation of abuses. That of Pisa, indeed, accomplished nothing, but at Constance, where sat the heads of monasteries, the princes of Germany, and the ambassadors of all Christian sovereigns, with the deputies of universities, and many other inferior theologians, an effort was made to assert the liberties of the ecclesiastical establishments.

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If the recommendations of the committee of reformation had been adopted by the Council of Constance, the machinery by which Rome had absorbed so much of the revenues and patronage of the church, would have been annihilated, and many of the more glaring abuses of the priesthood corrected. But Providence had otherwise determined, and those interested in perpetuating abuses availed themselves of the jealousies arising out of the division of the council into nations *, (an arrangement pro-

* The Council of Constance divided itself into four nations, the Italian, the German, the French, and the English, each with equal power.

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cured by the adversaries of Rome, to counteract the numerical influence of the Italian bishops,) and got the consideration of these articles deferred, until the election of a Pope was concluded; and Martin V., the new Pope, soon evinced his determination to elude all substantial reform. After publishing a few constitutions, tending to redress some of the most glaring irregularities, he left Constance, and dissolved the council.

The condemnation and execution of Huss and Jerome of Prague, by this council, have been noticed in their proper place; and we have also alluded to the maxim established by the same assembly, that no faith was to be kept with heretics.

But though the church failed to reform herself, the principal European nations had now determined, with different degrees of energy indeed, to make a stand against the despotism of Rome. France took the lead, and by the pragmatic sanction of Bourges, enacted by Charles VII., a general council was declared superior to the Pope. Elections of bishops were made free from all control; mandates or grants in expectancy, and reservation of be-

nefices were taken away, and first-fruits were abolished. Wealth, however, had become dearer than power, and the defalcation in their revenue, occasioned by these restrictions, led the pontiffs to search for other means to fill their coffers.

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Immense sums were raised, by means of the jubilees, but they were squandered with equal profuseness. Alexander VI., having gathered together a prodigious treasure, at a jubilee held in 1500, his bastard son, Cæsar Borgia, to the scandal of Christendom, made use of it to embroil Italy in a civil war; and when reproached by his friends for his shameful prodigality, he replied with a sneer, that what he thus threw away, was only the revenue arising from the sins of the Germans. But even that source would not always avail; and as indulgences were an article in general request, the failure of other resources made the sale of them a necessary trade.

Leo X., with a view to facilitate this species of commerce, and to render it profitable, and at the same time to accommodate those who could not make their way to Rome, caused them to be hawked about in every quarter of the Chris-

BOOK VIII. tian world. He constituted the Archbishop of
A.D. 1520. Mentz his deputy in Germany, for the sale of
 indulgences, and that prelate intrusted their
 traffic to one Tetzels, a profligate friar of the
 order of St. Dominick.

It was the insolence and shameless impostures of this man, that first excited the indignation of Luther, and led to that reformation in the Christian church, which has been so pregnant with benefits to Europe, but it evidently was the avarice of the church of Rome that first paved the way for her downfall.

BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE PRINCES OF THE
HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK AND LUNEBURG, DURING
THE THIRD DIVISION OF THAT HOUSE.

FROM the end of the thirteenth century, when the provinces of Brunswick were divided among the sons of Albert I., the princes of that House had never been cordially united, either in friendship or interests. The system of pillage and civil war, which was so prevalent in the empire, had been most destructive to their provinces, while each succeeding generation seemed more desirous than another, to effect the ruin of their name and kindred.

When we quitted the annals of Brunswick, to trace the causes which had led to a reformation in the church, the territories of that duchy, through the contention of its princes, were in a state of the greatest anarchy and confusion. One sovereign prince, Henry, Duke of Luneburg, had been outlawed, and was then an exile at Paris, and the whole of the other princes of the family were in arms against each other.

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The family of
Brunswick injured
by the divided state
of their property :

The civil wars of
this family.

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The sons of Henry of Luneburg undertake the government: Ernest has the chief direction:

Henry, on leaving Germany, had vested the government of Luneburg in his three sons, Otho, Ernest, and Francis; and the second of these princes, having been brought up at the court of his grandfather, the Elector of Saxony, was educated at the university of Wittenberg. Luther had been his instructor from his earliest infancy, and he had become firmly persuaded of the truth of the doctrines promulgated by that learned professor; when called upon, therefore, to take a part in the government of his paternal inheritance, he gave the whole weight of his sanction to the proposed reformation in ecclesiastical affairs. Religion, consequently, at that eventful period, lent her aid to the civil discord, which had so long been the bane of the Guelphic dynasty.

The reigning princes of the house at this period:

At the time that these princes succeeded to the government of Luneburg, 1st, Philip I., still reigned at Grubenhagen, and was the head of the House of Brunswick; 2nd, Erick, the son of William the Younger, was Duke of Brunswick and Calenberg; and 3rd, Henry, the son of Henry the Elder, and nephew of Erick, held the principality of Brunswick and Wolfenbittel. Otho, Ernest, and Francis agreed to hold the

government in common, for their absent father, and being unanimous in supporting the principles of the reformation, they became the decided enemies of those other branches of their house, who still adhered to the catholic supremacy. But though Otho and Francis were nominally joined with their brother in the civil government, the talents and ambition of Ernest soon placed him at the head of affairs, and he obtained the chief direction of all that concerned the internal, as well as the external, policy of the state. He found his people ready to join him, in reforming their church, and from the moment that he succeeded to the government, he caused the doctrines of Luther to be preached in his dominions. In the sequel, we shall find, that he adhered firmly to the principles he had so early adopted, and that he was not only one of the first, but one of the steadiest, of the champions of the Reformation.

Though Charles V. had caused the ban of the empire to be rigidly executed against the father, he made no objection to the succession of the sons. Guided by the advice of their grandfather, the Elector of Saxony, these princes

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Ernest of Luneburg
supports the Reformation:

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Henry of Wolfen-
bittel, a rigid catho-
lic:

had shewn themselves friendly to his elevation to the throne, and notwithstanding their open and avowed heresy, they were permitted to enter upon the government, without any opposition. Henry of Wolfenbittel was involved in the same sentence, which had banished Henry of Luneburg, but he contrived to avoid its execution, and remained in possession of his states.

Both princes attend
the diet at Worms:

All the princes of Brunswick were present at the diet at Worms, where Luther, as is known, made his appearance, and defended his doctrines with a boldness that astonished the catholics; but when he had effected his escape from that city, the emperor prevailed upon the diet to sanction an edict, by which he confirmed the sentence of the Pope, and declared it high treason, for any subject of the empire to receive or protect so incorrigible a heretic.

Charles V., in conformity to the Bull of Leo X., declared by this edict, that Martin Luther was a notorious heretic, and ought to be held as such by all the world, and he commanded the princes and states of the empire, on pain of disobedience, to seize him, his aiders and abettors, after the expiring of twenty-one days,

from the date of the decree, to imprison them, and to confiscate all their goods and estates. He ordered also that his works were not to be read, and that all persons having them in their possession should be severely punished, and the princes and magistrates were directed to burn and destroy them, wherever they could be found.

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The decree of that diet:

The publication of this severe decree was the only measure taken to put a stop to the Reformation; as the troubles in Spain, and the agitated state of Europe, called the attention of Charles to matters of more immediate importance. Before he left Worms, however, he endeavoured to engage the princes of the empire, to support his ancient friend and ally the King of Denmark. That sovereign, Christian II., after a long and cruel war with the Swedes, had succeeded in establishing his authority in their kingdom; but his government was still unsettled, and the Swedes, enemies to absolute monarchy, required the strong hand of power to keep them in subjection. The emperor, therefore, was anxious that the princes on the northern frontier, should join in supporting his usurped

The only measure taken to stop the Reformation.

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The affairs of the
empire adverted to.

dominion, but the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Mecklenburg, and the Hanseatic league, declared openly against any such coalition, and were ably supported by the Dukes of Luneburg, notwithstanding the efforts made by the Danish envoys, to change their opinion.

Charles V. supports
the King of Den-
mark.

Charles had given his sister in marriage to Christian, consequently he entered warmly into his interests, and believing, as it was said, that he would become his successor, if he died without issue, lent the sanction of his name to all his usurpations; but that sanction was all the support he could give to this ambitious brother-in-law. A war was ready to break out between him and the King of France, in Navarre, in the Low Countries, and in Italy, while Spain was torn by intestine commotions. He had gratified the Pope, by publishing the edict just mentioned; but the necessity of preparing for the contest with his rival, Francis I., left him no opportunity of farther troubling the Reformers. The Elector of Saxony, therefore, the Landgrave of Hesse, with the Dukes of Luneburg, and the other princes, who supported Luther, were allowed to mature their plans without further molestation.

Luther's doctrines had made their way into almost all the states of the empire, when that revolution in Sweden, which called Gustavus Vasa to the throne, and the changes in Denmark that followed the deposition of Christian II., introduced them into both these kingdoms: but though the Reformers had hitherto met with little opposition from their enemies, the work was not carried on by them all with the same spirit of moderation and conciliation. During Luther's confinement at Warburg, one of his disciples, named Carlostadius, began to propagate among the common people of Saxony opinions of the most wild and dangerous nature. Encouraged by his exhortations, they rose in several villages, broke into the churches, and threw down and destroyed the images, with which they were adorned. Luther saw the danger that was to be apprehended from such irregular and outrageous proceedings, and quitting his retreat, without even waiting for the elector's permission, he appeared at Wittemberg. "Happily, (says Robertson, from whom we quote*,) for the cause in which he was engaged, the veneration for his person

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The Reformation introduced into various states.

Fanaticism begins to shew itself:

* History of Charles V.

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Is stopt by Luther.

and authority was still so great, that his appearance alone suppressed that spirit of extravagance which began to seize his party. Carlostadius and his followers, struck dumb by his rebukes, submitted at once, and declared that they heard the voice of an angel, not of a man."

Nuremburg, Hamburg, with Frankfort, and several other free cities of the empire, openly embraced the reformed religion, and by the authority of their magistrates, abolished the mass and the other superstitious rites of popery. Philip, Duke of Grubenhagen, and Erick, Duke of Calemberg, joined their cousins, Ernest and his brothers, and pursued the same course in their several states, which Ernest had done in the duchy of Luneburg.

Adrian VI. endeavours to suppress Luther's doctrines :

The court of Rome beheld this progress of the defection with great concern, and the first care of Adrian VI., after his arrival in Italy, was to deliberate with his cardinals, on the means best calculated to put a stop to it. As the manners of this Pope were extremely simple, and he was a stranger to the vices that reigned in the court of Rome, he soon became as sensible of its corruptions as the Reformers themselves, and

viewed them with no less indignation. A diet of the empire had met at Worms, and Adrian, addressing a brief to the princes assembled at that diet, condemned the opinions of Luther with more asperity and rancour of expression, than Leo had ever ventured to do. He severely censured them for suffering the Reformer to spread his pernicious opinions, by neglecting to put in force the edict of the emperor; and he required of them, if Luther did not instantly retract his errors, to destroy him as a gangrened and incurable member, in like manner as Dathan and Abiram had been cut off by Moses, Ananias and Sapphira by the apostles, and John Huss and Jerome of Prague by their own ancestors. At the same time, he candidly acknowledged, that the corruption of the Roman court had been the great source from which had flowed most of the evils that the church now either felt or dreaded.

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His address to the diet at Worms, 1522:

The members of the diet gave the Pope every credit for his pious and laudable intentions, but excused themselves for not executing the edict of Worms, by alleging that the great increase of Luther's followers, and the aversion to the Roman court which existed among their

The reply of the German princes:

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The demand a general council:

subjects, on account of its innumerable exactions, had rendered any attempt at enforcing that edict, not only dangerous, but almost impracticable. They affirmed that the grievances of Germany, which arose from impositions perfectly intolerable, called for some new and efficacious regulations; and that, in their opinion, the only remedy adequate to the disease, or that could afford them any hopes of seeing the church restored to health and vigour, was a general council. Such a council, they advised his holiness, after obtaining the emperor's consent, to assemble without delay; and they declared that it ought to meet in one of the great cities of Germany, in order that all who had a right to be present, might be enabled to deliberate with freedom, and have an opportunity of proposing their opinions with that boldness, which the dangerous situation of the religious world imperatively called for.

The nuncio evades their demand:

Cheregat, the Pope's nuncio, was startled at the proposal of a council. He foresaw how dangerous such an assembly might prove, at a time when so many states had openly denied the papal authority, and employed his utmost address, to prevail upon the members of the

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diet to proceed themselves with severity against the Lutheran heresy. But they, perceiving that he was more zealous for the interests of the Roman court, than for either the tranquillity of the empire, or the purity of the church, remained inflexible, and instead of listening to his suggestions, prepared a catalogue of their grievances, to be laid before his master.

The secular princes, before separating, drew up a list, which consisted of no less than a hundred grievances, all of which were attributed to the iniquitous dominion of the papal court, and its interference in the empire. Many of these grievances were of the same nature as those complained of in Maximilian's reign; and they concluded by a declaration, that if the Holy See did not deliver them from such intolerable burdens, they (the princes) had determined to endure them no longer, but would employ the power and authority which God had given them, to procure that relief. Instead of sanctioning the severities against Luther, which the nuncio had recommended, they published an edict, requiring all orders of men to wait with patience for the decision of that council which was to be assembled, and in the

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mean time, not to publish any new opinions, contrary to the established doctrines of the church. The preachers were ordered to abstain from all matters of controversy, in their discourses to the people, and confine themselves, from thenceforth, to the plain and instructive truths of religion.

The Reformation
gains by the discus-
sion at the diet:

The Reformation gained great advantages from the discussions in this diet; these afforded the fullest and most authentic evidence, that gross corruptions prevailed in the papal court, and that the empire was loaded by the catholic clergy with insupportable impositions. In proof of the corruption in Rome, the Reformers could now produce the authority of the Pope himself; their accusations therefore were neither malicious nor ill-founded; and in respect to the burdens borne by the empire, they could appeal to the edict of a general diet, where their patrons had formed but a small minority.

The chief grievances of the state, they said, as now allowed, were those very practices of the Romish church, against which Luther and his disciples had most vehemently de-claimed; and in all controversial writings,

after this period, the Reformers constantly appealed to Adrian's declaration, and to the *hundred grievances*, as confirming whatever they advanced concerning the dissolute manners, insatiable ambition, and rapacious conduct of the Roman court and clergy.

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Adrian's want of prudence, in laying open the rotten and polluted state of the sacred conclave, was considered by the great body of the churchmen, as proceeding from childishness, and want of consideration. He had departed, they said, from the wise maxims of his predecessors, and had acknowledged disorders which ought to have been concealed. He was accused of having forgotten his own dignity, by asking advice of those to whom he was entitled to prescribe laws, and, on that account, was opposed by the cardinals and the other ecclesiastics of eminence, in all his schemes for the reformation of the church.

Adrian blamed by
the catholics :

Amazed at the obstinacy of the Reformers, disgusted with the manners and maxims of the Italian prelates, and finding himself unable to correct the one or command the other, he is said to have often lamented his having accepted of so exalted a situation, and to have looked

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back with pleasure to that period of his life, when, only Dean of Louvain, he could fulfil the duties of his office, without any thing intervening to frustrate or misrepresent his endeavours to do good.

Dies of a broken heart:

Charles wrote to Adrian from Spain, urging him to persist in the necessary reforms; but his efforts were found unavailing, and he died of a broken heart, on the 23rd of September, 1523.

Julius de Medicis succeeds as Clement VII.:

Julius de Medicis, who succeeded, as Clement VII., excelled Adrian greatly in the arts of government, but was far inferior in purity of life, and uprightness of intention. Adverse to the assembling of a council, both on public and private grounds, he soon determined to elude, if possible, the demand of the German princes, and for that purpose, sent the Cardinal Campeggio, as his nuncio, to a diet which had assembled at Nuremburg. This prelate, without taking any notice of what had passed in the former diet, exhorted the princes then assembled, to put in execution the edict of Worms, as the only effectual means of suppressing Luther's doctrines. But these princes, without regarding his exhortations, desired to

Sends his nuncio to the diet at Nuremburg:

know what were the intentions of the new Pope with regard to a council, and the redress of the hundred grievances.

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Campeggio endeavoured to evade the first part of the inquiry, by a general and unmeaning declaration of Clement's resolution to pursue such means as would be for the chief good of the church. But with regard to the last part, he said, that as Adrian had died before the catalogue of these grievances had reached Rome, and as they had not been regularly laid before the present Pope, he must decline making any definitive answer, in the name of his master, though he could not help observing for himself, that the said catalogue contained many things which were extremely indecent and undutiful, and that their publishing it by their own authority was highly disrespectful to the Roman see. He concluded by again urging them to proceed against Luther and his adherents, and was warmly supported by the ambassadors of the emperor, who at this time was anxious to gain the support of Clement. But notwithstanding their joint efforts, the recess or edict of this diet was much the same as that of the former one, and they separated,

Who is supported by
the emperor's am-
bassadors:

BOOK IX. without enjoining any additional severity
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The decree of the
 diet of Nuremburg
 in favour of the Re-
 formers.

When the nuncio found that he could not prevail upon the general diet to sanction his views, he persuaded the Archduke Ferdinand, the two Dukes of Bavaria, the Archbishop of Saltzburg, the bishops of Trent and Ratisbon, with the deputies of nine other bishops, to meet together at Ratisbon, and under his direction, publish a decree, commanding the edict of Worms to be strictly executed within their respective dominions. These princes declared that all innovators should be punished with the utmost rigour, and they ordered that nothing should be changed in regard to the celebration of the mass, or the other sacraments of the church.—That the monks who apostatized, should be punished with death,—the priests who married, deprived of their livings, and that all their subjects who were students at the University of Wittemberg, should leave it within the space of three months.

The nuncio publishes a counter decree:

Campeggio afterwards published his articles of reform, which gave great and general offence, even to the catholics themselves; they denied that he had any right to legislate for Ger-

many, and complained, above all things, that he had left the most glaring abuses in the church still untouched.

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The emperor, on his part, disapproved of all that had passed in the diet at Nuremberg. He was afraid that the Pope might attribute to him, in whole or in part, the resistance which the princes had shewn to the designs of Campeggio, and he wrote from Burgos to the princes of Germany, complaining loudly of the obstinacy which they had shewn, in not carrying into effect his edict of Worms. He expressed his displeasure at their having persisted in requiring a general council in Germany, without having first obtained his sanction, and he stated that if a council was thought necessary, they ought to have addressed themselves to him, and he would have preferred their demand to the Pope, and have taken measures to have it assembled in such a place, and at such a time, as he could attend it in person. With respect to their holding an assembly at Spire, he would, he said, never consent to any such measure ; and he declared that he would put to the ban of the empire any prince or deputy who might presume to meet

The emperor is displeased with the Nuremberg decree:

His letter to the princes:

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in that city. His edict of Worms, he stated, was sufficient to put an end to all disorders, if the princes and magistrates would take the trouble to put it in execution.

This letter, and the strong terms in which it was couched, put an end to the diet at Spires, which had been determined on at Nuremberg, as only a few princes, and some deputies, who pretended that the emperor, while absent, had no right to prevent their meeting, presumed to contravene his positive orders. The number of those who did meet, under such circumstances, was however so small, that they could not venture to publish any declaration, and contented themselves with signing an agreement, that until the meeting of a general council, they would abide by the decree of the diet at Nuremberg.

Some of whom met
at Spires in opposi-
tion to his orders:

And sign a league.

Charles had given serious cause of offence to many of the princes of Germany, by his eagerness to conciliate the court of Rome, which at this period was supposed to hold the balance, in Italy, between him and Francis I., but he failed in obtaining the great object which he had in view. Clement refused to renew that treaty which his predecessor had

made with him; and under pretence of maintaining a strict neutrality, began to intrigue with the court of France.

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The long continuance of that war which about this time began in Italy, left Germany in comparative peace, and the Reformation was not only introduced, but had become the predominant religion in many of the northern kingdoms and states: when, unfortunately, a general revolt among the peasants of Suabia

The war of the peasants:

and Alsace, threatened to involve Germany in a war of extermination. The catholic writers attribute this revolt, to the dissemination of Luther's principles; but as it happened in those provinces, where such principles were scarcely known, we must look for some other cause; and indeed it is only necessary to mention, that while the feudal institutions of the darkest ages of ignorance and slavery were still maintained in all their rigour in most of the German provinces, the refinements in luxury, and the necessities of the upper classes, which began at this period, had called for the imposition of so many additional burdens upon their already over-burdened peasants,—their villeins and slaves, that these were at last

Its causes :

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driven to despair, and consequently flew to arms with the most frantic rage.

The first body of these insurgents assembled in the neighbourhood of Ulm, and was joined by the peasants from the adjacent countries; but the contagion spreading from province to province, soon reached to almost every part of Germany. Wherever this army moved, it was like the devouring locust; churches and monasteries were plundered, the lands of the nobles were laid waste, their castles razed, and their persons murdered without mercy. For a time their course was uninterrupted, and conceiving that they had sufficiently intimidated their oppressors, they drew up and published a memorial, containing all their demands, and declared that while they had arms in their hands, they would persuade or compel the nobles to give them full satisfaction, with regard to these demands.

Had their armies been concentrated, or capable of acting with union and vigour, they would indeed have compelled the nobles to listen to their demands; many of them were just and reasonable; but as they were led by persons without any skill in war, or any

knowledge of what was necessary to accomplish their designs, this, which in German history, is denominated the *peasant's war*, was only remarkable for the brutal and unmeaning fury with which it was conducted, and on account of the few princes and nobles that fell in the contest, among whom was Erick, the son of Henry the Elder, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, a commander of the Teutonic knights at Coblentz.

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By the aid of such vassals as still continued faithful, the princes of Suabia and the Lower Rhine, soon reduced this insurgent rabble. Some were conquered in the open field and in regular battle; others were surprised and cut to pieces, in their secret places, when after losing about twenty thousand of their numbers, the survivors returned to their homes, and submitted to their fate. But though the Reformers may fairly be acquitted of any blame in the revolt of the peasants of Suabia and Alsace, it must be confessed that the turbulence, and religious zeal, or fanaticism of a party, soon thereafter led to a civil war in Saxony and Thuringen, which was

And suppression.

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still more bloody than that which had just ended.

The Reformation, wherever it had been received, had increased that bold and innovating spirit, to which it owed its birth. Men who had the courage to overthrow a system, supported by every thing that could command respect or excite reverence, were not likely to be overawed by any authority of lesser weight; and having been accustomed for years to consider themselves judges of the most important doctrines in religion:—to examine with freedom, and reject without scruple, what appeared faulty or erroneous in their religious establishment, they naturally carried the same inquisitive eye towards their civil government, and thought themselves equally entitled to rectify whatever disorders or imperfections they discovered there.

The origin of the
anabaptists:

Thomas Münzer, one of Luther's disciples, had established himself in Thuringen, and had acquired a wonderful ascendancy over the minds of the people, by propagating among them some of the wildest and most enthusiastic notions in religion,—notions which manifestly

tended to inspire them with boldness, and to lead them to sedition. He accused Luther of having only half done his work, "Men," he said, "to avoid vice, must practice perpetual mortification. They must preserve a grave countenance, speak little, wear a plain garb, and be serious in their whole deportment, and when their hearts were prepared in this manner, they might expect that the Supreme Being would direct all their steps, and by some visible sign reveal his will to them."

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Their tenets,

Among other extravagant assertions, this first disciple of methodism promulgated those doctrines of liberty and equality, which, in later times, we have seen desolating the kingdoms of Europe, and which have been the theme of every canting demagogue from his day to the present. Extravagant as such tenets were, they did then as they do now, accord so well with the passions of the multitude, that they were eagerly listened too, and speedily adopted.

As published by
Münzer :

To abridge the power of the nobility, which had been the sole aim of the peasants of Suabia, was considered by Münzer's fanatics such a trifling matter, as not to be worth contending for. It was proposed by them, to abolish all

They revolt.

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distinctions of rank, and by destroying their property, reduce all men to their original and natural state of equality. Münzer assured his followers, that heaven approved of their design, and that the Almighty in a dream had warned him of its success, and he had so worked upon the minds of his deluded disciples, that they set about the execution of his orders, with all that rage and ardour which religious madness and enthusiasm alone can inspire.

And are guilty of
great irregularities:

The spiritual authority of Luther could no longer repress their disorders, or prevent their rebellion, and it became necessary to have recourse to the civil power; this however had been delayed for so long a time, that the anabaptists (for so Münzer's followers were afterwards designated,) had become very numerous, and had acquired some power. The head-quarters of the prophet were established at Mulhausen in Thuringen; but though his followers were spreading his doctrines, and exciting rebellion in every direction, he shewed an unwillingness himself to take the field at their head, and left it to other leaders to direct their marches, and collect the fruits of their conquests and

pillage. They had taken Würtzburg, compounded with Spires, and pillaged various other cities and towns, and had made their way along the Sarre, into the duchy of Lorraine. But Anthony, the sovereign of that province, would not allow his subjects to be treated as the Germans had been; assisted by his brother, Claude of Guise, he hastened to assemble his troops, and appearing before Zabern, which the anabaptists had surprised, he commenced its siege. Six thousand peasants were collected, and marched to the relief of that city; but the Duke of Lorraine attacked them, put them to the rout, and pursued them with so much vigour, that very few survived. Those who escaped the sword, were afterwards consumed by the flames, that destroyed the villages and towns in which they had taken refuge.

The decisive measures of this prince struck such terror into the besieged, that they offered to capitulate, and were admitted to terms; and the fanatics were afterwards searched for, and massacred with such unrelenting severity, that there was no longer any talk of a faction in Lorraine.

Störck, a man of the same principles, but with

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But are repulsed in
Lorraine

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Münzer declared a
rebel:

Takes the command
of his followers.

The princes of Sax-
ony and Brunswick
take up arms.

more courage, and less fanaticism, at last prevailed upon Münzer to quit Mulhausen, and with an escort of three hundred peasants, he proceeded to Franchausen, a city belonging to the Count of Mansfeldt. He had succeeded in bringing the inhabitants of that city into his views, and they had rejected the orders of their prince, whom Münzer now presumed to address as his equal. Mansfeldt, therefore, indignant at such insolence, collected his vassals, attacked those that were quartered in Oesthausen, and destroying the greater part of them, burnt the town. Münzer, a trembling coward, began to feel alarmed for his own safety. He collected his followers around him, and whole towns and villages were depopulated at the command of that fanatic. Husbands followed by their wives and children, and brothers by their sisters, marched to the defence of the prophet; and such was the influence he had gained by his preaching, that in a few days he was at the head of eight thousand men.

But the princes of Saxony and Brunswick had resolved to put an end to the miseries occasioned by the followers of this Reformer.

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They collected their troops, and with the Landgrave of Hesse, advanced upon the position which Münzer had chosen, and surrounded his encampment, without meeting with the smallest opposition. Unwilling to shed the blood of their deluded subjects, they sent the young Count of Stolberg as an ambassador to the camp, with the offer of a general pardon if they would lay down their arms, and deliver up the authors of their sedition. But Münzer alarmed only for himself, continued to exhort them to adhere to what he was pleased to call the cause of God and of liberty. The sense of present danger seemed to make a deeper impression upon the spirits of the multitude, than the eloquence of the preacher, and confusion and terror were visible in every countenance ; when a bright rainbow, the emblem which the anabaptists had painted on their colours, appearing in the clouds, he had sufficient presence of mind to seize upon that incident. Raising his eyes to heaven, he boldly exclaimed, “ Behold the sign which God has given ! There is the pledge of your safety, and a token that the wicked shall be destroyed ! ”

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Conduct of the fanatics:

There is little doubt that the fanatic believed what he had stated, and the multitude around him replied by a shout, that testified they were certain of the victory. Passing from one extreme to another, they, in the confidence of their success, inhumanly murdered a young nobleman in the suite of the count, who had come to them as the messenger of peace, and then demanded that they might instantly be led out against their enemies.

Enraged at such a violation of the laws of war and of humanity, the princes no longer hesitated in attacking them. The place which the enthusiasts had chosen for their encampment, was strong by nature, and the peasants had fortified it, by placing their carts and waggons as a rampart, to protect them from cavalry, but as they were without cannon, and badly supplied with arms, their whole trust was in the Lord of heaven: they prayed and sung hymns, but the first discharge of artillery threw them into confusion, and their disorder became complete, when they saw the infantry with sword in hand, forcing their way through the rampart of waggons. It was not a battle but a massacre, as the fanatics in the

front rank allowed themselves to be cut down, while on their knees imploring succour from on high. Those who were in the rear fled with their prophet, and shut themselves up in Franchausen, while Störck and a few escaped to a still greater distance.

The fall of Franchausen soon followed this victory, and Münzer and about three hundred of his followers were made prisoners. The latter were allowed to return to their homes, but their leader was delivered over to Duke George of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse.

By his conduct in this rebellion, Münzer had justly merited the utmost rigour of the law; but the two princes to whom his fate had been intrusted, determined to delay his trial, that his punishment might have a greater effect upon the deluded peasants, who had been led away from their duty by his inflammatory discourses. They decided, that he should be handed over to the Count of Mansfeldt, of whose country he was a subject, and whose territories had suffered most from his lawless proceedings, and he was bound upon a waggon, and conveyed to the castle of Helderung, where he was examined. He confessed his crimes against the established

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Their dispersion:

Münzer taken:

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His conduct and
confession.

order of things, and seemed to take a pride in having acted as he had done during the late disturbances; but he said it was the people only who had been guilty of any criminal excesses. His great object, he avowed, was to establish an equality of ranks, and a community of goods throughout Christian Europe; and his first design, to take possession of the territory of Mulhausen, and the Landgraviate of Hesse, that he might establish a government in these countries conformable to his views of what ought to constitute an evangelical kingdom. He told his judges that they would find a list of his confederates in the possession of his follower Crump, and the information gained from that document, induced the princes to march against Mulhausen, without further delay. That city, since the departure of Mün- cer, had remained under the command of one Phiffer, another fanatic, who surpassed his master in boldness, and equalled him in eloquence, and who, by his preaching, had supported the spirits of the citizens, notwithstanding the capture of Franchausen.

Mulhausen besieged:

John, who had succeeded his brother Frederick the Wise, as Elector of Saxony, was in-

trusted with its reduction ; and having received a reinforcement of three thousand cavalry, and a rather greater number of infantry, he commenced its siege. As soon as his force appeared before their walls, the multitude were struck with consternation, and though Phiffer promised them the support of the Almighty and a celestial host, terror prevented them from listening to his harangues, and they only thought of securing their own safety, by delivering up the city to the besiegers.

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And taken :

Phiffer had formed the resolution of stealing away during the night, and actually made his escape ; but as the Duke of Saxony had stated that he would listen to no terms, until their leader was given up to him, he was pursued and taken, near Eisenach, and brought back a prisoner to the head-quarters of the prince. The city was then allowed to compound for its rebellion, and the two leaders, Münzer and Phiffer were conducted to the camp of the prince, and publicly beheaded.

Phiffer, the anabaptist leader in that city, taken.

Münzer and Phiffer beheaded.

Münzer, it is said, abjured his errors, and died a catholic ; but Phiffer remained firm to the cause he had adopted, and died a heretic,

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professing the wildest doctrines of the anabaptist party.

The execution of these celebrated preachers calmed, for a time, the fury of their sect. and the Reformers found leisure to perfect their work, with that regard to the feelings of individuals, and the preservation of social order, which all along had been inculcated by the great father of the Reformation, and the princes who had protected and joined him in the good cause.

Policy of the Archduke Ferdinand, in regard to the Reformers.

Charles, still occupied out of the empire, left the management of that country to his brother, the archduke; and Ferdinand, though a zealous catholic himself, did not waste his strength in pursuing the heretics with regular armies. He had recourse to political intrigue, and by bestowing the principal benefices, as they became vacant, upon persons firmly attached to the ancient faith, he prevented the spread of the new doctrines more effectually than he could have done by the sword. On the 25th of June, 1526, a diet was allowed to assemble at Spire, where the representatives of the emperor made a powerful effort to get the

so-often-named edict of Worms acted upon with vigour. They produced letters from Charles, in which he stated his resolution to pass into Italy, and to visit Rome for the purpose of receiving the imperial crown, and of treating with the Pope, about the meeting of a council; and in the mean time, he commanded them not to decide on any measure, contrary to the established laws, or the ceremonies and ancient usages of the church, but to observe and see carried into effect his former edict. But the greater part of the deputies declared, in answer to that communication, that though willingly inclined to obey the emperor in all things, they saw no way in which they could do so, conformable to the letters which had been read to the diet, because the controversy respecting rites and ceremonies augmented daily; but if, in times past, they had not been able to carry into effect his edict, on account of the existing seditions, they were now still less able to do so, from the same cause.

With regard to the promise which his majesty had given to procure a general council, they observed that he might have accomplished his wish, while he wrote his letters, as he

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Proceedings of the
diet at Augsburg :

then remained in amity with the Pope; but there was little reason to expect it now, when Clement was in arms against him. Some went the length of proposing, that in order to meet the dangers with which the Germanic body was threatened, the emperor ought to be solicited to call a general national synod in Germany; or if he objected to such a measure, that he ought to dispense with the execution of the edict of Worms, until a council of the church could be enabled to assemble.

Demands of the Re-
formers :

The churchmen however interfered, and protested that the diet had no right to treat of religion, or matters of faith, while the Pope and the emperor were absent, and that these questions must be referred to a more favourable moment. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and Duke Ernest of Luneburg, insisted that the diet should immediately make some regulations for suppressing the number of religious orders that overspread the country. That those who were willing to embrace some other occupation, should be allowed to do so; and that the absurd privileges and immunities of the churchmen should be abrogated. The laws about eating meat, they

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said, ought to be annulled, and every one allowed to practise those ceremonies which he might think it proper to submit to, and that the preaching of the gospel should be permitted throughout the empire. They further added, that the diet certainly would not hesitate to allow them a church, in which they could worship God according to their consciences.

The consideration of this last measure, the assembly remitted to the Bishop of Spires, a prince of the Palatine House, who being a staunch catholic, refused them any such accommodation within his diocese. The consequence was, that they had divine service performed publicly in their own hotels, and this created such a confusion in the city and in the diet, that all their deliberations were suspended, and nothing but a civil war talked of. To avoid this, the Elector, with the Landgrave, and the Dukes of Luneburg, with their friends, offered to retire from the diet altogether; but the Archduke Ferdinand, was afraid of the evils that might ensue, if the diet was broke up, and he endeavoured to calm the disturbances, by bringing all parties to listen to reason. He at last got them to fix on a decree,

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The decree of the
diet :

which, though scarcely in any degree conformable to the wishes and intentions of the emperor, still shewed an appearance of submitting to his orders. It bore in substance, that there was an absolute necessity for a national council, to regulate the affairs of religion in Germany, and for a general one, within the term of a year.

And remonstrance
made to the emperor.

They sent ambassadors to the emperor, to implore him to have compassion upon the unsettled state of the empire, and to return into Germany with as little delay as possible, and they promised in the mean time, that the princes and states would conduct themselves in their several provinces, with regard to religion and the edict of Worms, so as to be able to render him a satisfactory account of their actions.

Whose Italian wars
make him neglect
Germany.

But the career of victory which Charles had now entered upon in the south, left him no time either to visit the north, or to think about the affairs of Germany, and the consequence was, that the Reformation made its way silently but gradually, and soon found a fixed abode among the mountains of Switzerland, while in the empire the numbers of the catholics and reformers became nearly equal. The

The wild enthusiasm of the anabaptist sect seemed, however, to have been sent as an apple of discord, to divide the latter, and to prevent the tranquil march of truth in this great and good work.

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Progress of the Reformation :

A strong body of peasants, maintaining the doctrines of liberty and equality, harassed Upper Germany, the Palatinate, and the banks of the Rhine and the Necker, and kept these countries in a state of civil war for many months. But, on the other hand, the enmity which existed between the Pope and the emperor, the captivity of the former, and the power exerted by the see of Rome, may be said to have acted in favour of the Reformation.

About this time, Luneburg, Grubenhagen, and Calemberg, had become thoroughly reformed, and even in the bishopricks of Paderborne, Osnaburg, Munster, and Bremen, which were held by prelates of the House of Brunswick, Luther's doctrines had made some progress.

Particularly in the duchy of Brunswick :

George, the youngest brother of Henry of Wolfenbittel, who was Archbishop of Bremen, and Bishop of Minden and Verden, publicly embraced the reformed religion, and promoted

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its introduction into these dioceses, while Henry, with two of his other brothers, who were also bishops, were amongst its most determined opposers. In conjunction with the catholics of Luneburg, they sent and got permission for their cousin Henry to return to his dominions, in order that he might again assume the government of the duchy, and overturn the measures of his sons. But the principles of the Reformation were too firmly established, to be easily shaken. The aged duke made no attempt to disturb the authority of his sons, or to interfere with their arrangements, and lived, as we have already stated, in retirement, till his death, 19th February, 1532.

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Private annals of
the princes.

In 1527, Otho, the senior of the Luneburg princes, retired to the small territory of Harburg, where he established his residence, and resigned all further claim, for himself or his issue, to the government of the duchy of Luneburg. Francis, the younger brother, who at this time had come of age, was therefore joined with Ernest in the administration, and these two princes having been educated under the same masters, felt alike in all matters of religion.

The sacred scriptures, as translated by Lu-

ther, were distributed by their command throughout the whole of their dominions. The gospel was everywhere preached to the peasants in their native tongue; and long before any general regulation had been drawn up for the government of the reformed church, Ernest of Luneburg had published an *interim* code, for the guidance of his clergy. His zeal in the cause, and the perseverance with which he overcame the difficulties that at first surrounded him, obtained for him the very honourable appellation of *the Confessor*, and in the annals of his house, he is known as the first Duke of Celle, and distinguished as the common ancestor of all the existing branches of the Brunswick family.

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But in returning once more to the history of Europe, we have to observe that the success of the emperor in Italy roused the fears of the other powers of Europe, and Henry VIII. of England was induced to join with Francis I. in a league against Charles. The avowed object of that league, was to compel him to set at liberty the father of Christendom, who being unable to fulfil the conditions of his capitulation, remained a prisoner under

History of the empire resumed.

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State of the imperial
army at Rome.

the secure custody of one of the emperor's generals.

There was no army in Italy capable of making head against the Imperialists, when they first entered that country; but they had been so long accustomed to live at discretion in the city of Rome, and almost without the control of a superior, that they could scarcely be considered any longer a military body. They refused to quit the city, but upon their own conditions, and would allow no one to command them but the Prince of Orange. Thus the emperor, instead of reaping any advantage from the capture of the capital of the Christian world, found this most formidable body of troops so completely paralyzed, that it was impossible to rouse them. Their inactivity, therefore, gave the King of France and his allies an opportunity of forming new schemes, and of entering into new engagements, for delivering the Holy Father, and securing the liberties of Italy.

The war renewed in
Italy.

An army still more numerous than any that had yet taken the field was collected; and through the influence of Florence, Ostet de Foix, Marechal of Lautrec, the general who had

commanded in the first war, which had ended in the ruin of the French in Italy, was again appointed generalissimo; but it was with the utmost reluctance that this officer undertook the command. He had already suffered too much from the negligence of the French king, and the malice of that monarch's favourites, to entertain any very sanguine hopes of success; but as he had now the best troops of France and the King of England, though he had not yet declared war against the emperor, had advanced a considerable sum towards carrying on the expedition, he thought there might be a possibility of redeeming his former losses.

The marechal's first operations were prudent, vigorous, and successful: with the assistance of Andrew Doria, the ablest sea-officer of that age, he made himself master of Genoa, obliged Alexandria to surrender, and took possession of Pavia, but durst not advance against Milan. He knew that the allies of Francis were more anxious to circumscribe the imperial power in Italy, than to acquire any new territories for the French monarch; and he was afraid, that, if the dominion of Sforza was again established,

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they would but coldly support him in the attack he meditated against Naples.

State of the imperial
army :

Lautrec, indeed, had received instructions not to push the war in Lombardy, and happily for the views of Francis, the importunities of the Pope, and the solicitations of the Florentines, the one for relief, and the other for protection, were so urgent, that they furnished his general with a sufficient pretext for marching forward, without yielding to the entreaties of the Venetians and Sforza, who were anxious for his besieging Milan. While the French army, therefore, advanced slowly towards Rome, Charles had time to deliberate concerning the disposal of the Pope, who was his prisoner.

And embarrassment
of the emperor :

Notwithstanding the specious veil with which he generally endeavoured to cover his actions, the emperor often shewed that religious considerations had little influence upon his conduct. He had frequently felt within himself a desire to gratify his ambition, by transporting the Holy Father into Spain, in order that it might be said, the two greatest personages in Europe had successively graced his court as prisoners. But the dread of giving still greater offence to Christian Europe, and of filling his

own subjects with horror, prevented him from taking this step; yet the progress of the confederates made it necessary for him, either to set the Pope at liberty, or to convey him to a place of greater security. He had many inducements to prefer the former, and the state of his treasury made it difficult to recruit his army, or to pay the arrears which were due to it.

In order to obtain supplies, he had assembled the Spanish Cortes at Valladolid, about the beginning of the year, and had laid before them the state of his affairs. He had urged them, in pressing terms, to provide him with the means of meeting the enemies whom envy at the success of his arms had raised up against him. But as Spain was already exhausted, by extraordinary donatives, the Cortes refused to load the nation with any new burdens, and in spite of all his endeavours to gain, or to intimidate them, they continued firm in this resolution. Nothing therefore remained, but to extort from Clement, by way of ransom, a sum sufficient to discharge the debt due to his troops; and unless he accomplished that object, he knew it was in vain to attempt removing them from Rome.

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Spain withholds
supplies.

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The Pope, on his part, however, had not been idle; by flattery, and the appearance of unbounded confidence, he had succeeded in disarming the resentment of the Cardinal Colonna, and had so wrought upon his vanity, that he was now desirous of shewing to the world, that the man who had the power to depress the Pope, had also the ability to raise him to his former dignity. Clement had also gained the favour of Maroné, another Italian of influence and intrigue, and the address and management of these two soon removed all the obstacles that retarded an accommodation. They brought the treaty for his liberty to a conclusion, upon terms considered hard, but not more severe than a person in his condition had reason to expect. He was obliged to advance, in ready money, a hundred thousand crowns, for the use of the imperial army, and to promise to pay an equal sum at the end of a fortnight, and one hundred and fifty thousand more at the end of three months. He engaged, also, to take no part in the war against Charles, either in Lombardy or in Naples, and granted him a bull of crusade, with a tenth of the ecclesiastical benefices in Spain. He not only gave hostages,

but put the emperor in possession of several towns, as a further security, for the fulfilment of these articles.

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The money was raised, and a day was fixed for his liberation, but Clement had little faith in the emperor's promises, and had become impatient of confinement. He disguised himself, and on the night previous to the day that had been appointed for his freedom, he escaped in the habit of a merchant, and arrived before next morning at Orvietto. From thence he wrote a letter of thanks to Lautrec, the French general, and acknowledged him as the chief instrument of procuring his liberty. At the same time, he gave him to understand, that as he had been compelled in his adversity to yield to the unreasonable demands of the emperor, he did not hold himself bound to fulfil his engagements.

The Pope at liberty :

Refuses to fulfil his engagements.

Though the delivery of the Pope was the avowed object for which the kings of France and England had formed an alliance, they shewed no desire to lay down their arms when that object was accomplished. Henry VIII. had determined on a war against the emperor, and wishing to conceal his real motives,

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had directed his ambassadors at the court of Spain, to make such demands as he knew could not be granted.

Demands of Henry
VIII.:

Charles was not only required to pay off the debt which he had incurred to Henry, and his father, Henry VII., but also to pay five hundred thousand crowns, which he had forfeited by breaking off his engagement with the Princess Mary, to whom he had been affianced. He was called upon to indemnify the King of England, for the pension he ought to have received from the King of France, and which had not been paid for the last four years and four months; and to make good the losses which the troops of the empire had caused to the patrimony of the church.

Answer of the em-
peror.

The emperor acknowledged that he stood indebted to Henry in a considerable sum, but was astonished he should insist upon payment, under existing circumstances. He said that he did not consider himself bound to pay five hundred thousand crowns, claimed as the forfeit for not fulfilling the contract of marriage proposed to him; and waving all mention of what regarded the payment of the pension, stated that he had sent positive orders to his

generals in Italy to make restitution to the Pope.

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It is evident that these demands of Henry gave the emperor some uneasiness. He saw that the sovereigns of France and England were ready to join their forces against him, and consequently bent the whole powers of his mind to procure a difference between them. He had attacked Cardinal Wolsey, who was a member of the embassy; but, for once, the cardinal was not to be bribed, and his situation seemed in the utmost degree critical, when, as had often happened, his good fortune once more prevailed.

The Pope, notwithstanding his late sufferings, was placed in circumstances, that made it still necessary for him to court Charles. He was bent on re-establishing the authority of his family, the Medici, at Florence, and the emperor being aware of that, had given him to understand his wishes might be accomplished. When the ambassadors of France, England, and Venice, therefore, waited upon him at Orvietto, and pressed him to declare against Charles, he made an excuse, saying, it was necessary for the welfare of mankind, that there should

The Pope deserts
the confederates.

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be one who could mediate for a general peace; that he was willing to become this mediator, but it was all he could do in the then state to which he found himself reduced. Nevertheless, as he was anxious to have the ecclesiastical states freed from the outrages of the imperial troops, he hinted that if the French general would advance upon Rome, he might be induced to act otherwise. Lautrec, however, saw clearly what the Pope had in view, and paid no attention whatever to his request, but leaving Bologna, advanced upon the kingdom of Naples, where the cities of Abruzzo, Ascoli, Aquila, and many others, opened their gates, and received him as their deliverer.

The imperialists
leave Rome.

The Prince of Orange with difficulty got the imperialists to leave the capital, where, for more than nine months they had been allowed to commit every kind of excess; but having at last succeeded, they acted as some check upon the confederates, though they could not prevent their almost triumphant march to the walls of Naples.

Lautrec
Naples:

besieges The enfeebled remains of what had once been a powerful army, were shut up in that capital, and while Lautrec, with his superior force, kept

up a rigid blockade by land, the combined fleets of France, Venice, and Genoa, appeared off the harbour, and intercepted all supplies. But the siege of Naples was suffered to linger by indecision, until it terminated by a total change in the relative condition of the combatants.

The environs of this city, at all periods of the year unhealthy, are particularly so during the sultry months of summer, and the French army encamped in these environs were soon attacked by violent sickness. Contagion, too, was carried into the camp by some of their prisoners, and while the troops began to recover health and confidence within the walls, disease and death were making fearful havoc among those without them. The sufferings of the French were greatly aggravated by the neglect of the king, who paid no attention to their pecuniary necessities, and whose imprudence, in provoking the desertion of the Admiral of Genoa, the famous Andrew Doria, hastened the destruction of this gallant army.

Doria concluded a treaty with Charles, and after a short absence at Genoa, returned with his fleet to relieve and protect that army which he had so lately blockaded. The French, hav-

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Unfortunate end of
that siege.

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ing thus lost their naval superiority, were, in addition to the ravages of the pestilence, exposed to all the horrors of famine, and in their turn besieged in their camp.

Lautrec fell a victim to mental suffering and bodily disease; and after his death, the remains of his army, under the command of the Marquis of Salucca, endeavoured to save themselves by an ignominious retreat, or rather flight, to the city of Aversa. They endured a siege in that city for a few days, but losing their second commander also, they were compelled to accept of a disgraceful capitulation. The Prince of Amalfi arrived before Naples two hours after the flight of the French, but his aid was of no avail.

During the triumphant career of the army of Lautrec, Charles V. applied for aid to the princes of Germany; and Henry, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbittel, was the most zealous

Henry of Brunswick conducts an army into Lombardy:

in shewing his attachment. He crossed the Alps with ten thousand infantry and six hundred lancers, and entered the territory of Verona, which, being subject to the French, was delivered up to pillage. His intention was to harass the army of Lautrec, by hanging upon

its rear; but considering the number of places which he must take, before he could penetrate with safety into the heart of the country, he was induced, by the advice of Anthony de Leva, a Spanish general, to remain in Lombardy, and to undertake the siege of Lodi, where the Duke of Milan had left a garrison of three thousand men, under the command of John Paul, his bastard brother.

The artillery of Brunswick soon made a breach in the walls of Lodi, but the Spanish infantry failed in the assault, and Henry was obliged to convert the siege into a blockade. But the delay which that was likely to produce did not accord with the wishes of the German levies. They were more desirous of plunder than of glory, and when there was no prospect of booty, they began to desert their prince. Charles, however, had already become jealous of his ally: he did not relish the appearance of a German force in Italy, particularly as that force was under the command of a prince who had many hereditary claims upon some of its finest provinces. He was, therefore, at pains to disgust Henry, and by neglecting to forward the supplies of money he had promised, suc-

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His retreat from
thence.

ceeded in compelling him to return into Germany with his troops.

The appearance of the Duke of Brunswick in Italy, had obliged the King of France to send a second army into Lombardy; but after the destruction of that before Naples, this also was surprised and dispersed.

Broken in spirit, by such an unvaried train of disasters, and exhausted in resources, Francis I. no longer thought of retrieving his disgraces by arms; and to obtain the release of his children, who were still in the power of Charles, scrupled not to desert his allies, and to forfeit his honour. But the Pope, equally unscrupulous, and yet more eager for peace, had anticipated him in the desertion of the Italian confederates.

Charles, too, had many reasons for desiring a pacification, which he could dictate as a conqueror. The embarrassment of his finances; the alarming progress of the Reformation in Germany, and the danger to be apprehended to that country, from the progress of the Turks, who had already over-run a great part of Hungary; all demanded his presence in the North. To detach the Pope, therefore,

from the confederacy, he granted him all he demanded, and took, in return, the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, well knowing, that when this was accomplished, he could dictate such terms to France as he thought proper. This he accordingly did, and put an end to the war, by the treaty of Cambray.

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The Lutheran princes and cities in Germany were occupied with their own concerns, and paid little attention to the war in Italy. With the view of putting an end to the disorders which a difference of opinion had engendered, John, Elector of Saxony, John Frederick, his son, Philip, Duke of Grubenhagen, Otho, Ernest, and Francis, Dukes of Luneburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Henry, Duke of Mecklenberg, Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, and Gebhard and Albert, Counts of Mansfeldt, had met at Torgau on the 12th of June, 1526, and had negotiated a treaty, by which they endeavoured to remedy the evils arising from the different sects that had sprung up in their states. But these princes, notwithstanding the increasing strength of their party, were still afraid of the authority of the emperor, and suspected the Archduke Ferdinand, and his adherents, parti-

BOOK IX. cularly the catholic princes of Bavaria, and the
 A.D. 1528. Elector of Mentz. They therefore met again

The Protestants re-
 new their league,
 in consequence of
 the Catholic league:

this year and renewed their former treaty, and
 as a further security, endeavoured to get the
 Zuinglians, or Swiss reformers, to join them.

What led to the adoption of these mea-
 sures, was a report that the Catholics had
 entered into a league to oppress the Re-
 formers. The existence of such a league was
 doubted by many, but the Landgrave of Hesse
 was persuaded of the truth of the report, and
 insisted upon their being prepared to meet
 it, and he levied a large contribution upon the
 Bishopricks of Mentz, Wurtzburg, and Bamberg
 to support the armament he judged it neces-
 sary to have on foot. Melancthon objected to
 such active proceedings, but the princes had
 the support of Luther, who foresaw the danger
 to be apprehended, when the emperor was at
 leisure to turn his attention to the affairs of
 Germany. He knew that Charles, who had
 triumphed as much by his negotiations as his
 arms, was on the point of appearing in Italy
 with all the imposing power and pride of a
 victor. That Doria with his gallies was to
 escort him from Spain, and that strong rein-

forcements for his Italian army attended or awaited him, and their junction with the Imperialists, already in the Peninsula, would form a numerous and brilliant assembly of veteran troops. The powers of Italy, were therefore prostrate before him, and though the situation of his affairs in Germany might still impose a moderation foreign to his severe and haughty temper, the time was not distant, when it was probable such a restraint would be removed. The republic of Florence alone defied his power in the South, and though the reduction of that city might for a while retard his progress to the North, the delay could not be long.

Charles had addressed letters to his brother Ferdinand, now King of Hungary, from Vallo-dolid, directing him, as his vicar-general in the empire, to call a diet at Spire. Such an assembly, indeed, had become absolutely necessary; independent of the troubles caused by the progress of the Reformation, the provinces of the empire were threatened with an immediate invasion by the Turks.

Ferdinand not only complied with his brother's directions, but as it was his duty to preside at the diet, he repaired to the place of meeting

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The emperor in Italy.

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Meeting of the diet
at Spires:

at the beginning of March, and the princes and deputies of the cities assembled about the 15th. The Elector of Saxony was accompanied by Melancthon, and the Pope sent John Thomas, Count of Mirandola, as his representative, with instructions to urge the princes to undertake a war against the Turks. The affairs of religion, however, were considered of the greatest importance, and occupied the attention of the assembly first. The members disputed long, and with great warmth. The Catholics endeavoured to separate the Lutherans and the Zuinglians, but in that they failed, through the firmness of the Landgrave of Hesse. He not only shewed how trifling their difference in opinion was, but exposed the fatal consequences that must follow any division, which would give the Catholics (the enemies of both) that superiority they so anxiously wished for.

An effort made to
unite the different
parties:

Ferdinand amused himself by reading a lecture to the imperial cities, on their fickleness in matters of faith, and the numerous changes they had permitted contrary to the edict of Worms. But the deputies of these cities, true to their cause, answered him with firmness, that the changes they had permitted, militated in no

way against the authority of the emperor: that they were anxious for peace, and disposed to give every satisfaction to his imperial majesty, but must insist upon the convocation of a general council.

The edict of Worms formed another source of debate, one party contending for its execution, with every severity, even against the members present, and the other asserting that the customs of the empire ought to be maintained, and that no one had a right to interfere with the privileges of the deputies who had been legally sent by their constituents to the diet.

Great efforts were made by the archduke to procure something like unanimity in their decisions; and after many a lengthened harangue, it was decreed by the majority, that those who had observed the edict of Worms hitherto, should continue to do so; but that those who had changed their mode of worship, (and which the Catholics asserted could not be done without incurring the pains of sedition,) should continue in their present state, and not attempt any further innovation. The Mass was not to be abolished, and those who wished to partake of it, were to have free liberty to do so, even

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The decision of the diet.

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in these states where a change of doctrine had been introduced. The doctrines of the Anabaptists were absolutely prohibited under pain of death; and in regard to preaching, and the printing and publishing of books, the decree passed by the diet of Nuremberg, was to be observed. No new doctrines were to be introduced or discussed, and all parties were to await, with patience, the decisions of a general council, which it was hoped would soon be assembled.

Ernest of Luneburg distinguished as a leader of the Luther-ans :

Ernest of Luneburg took a decided lead in all the debates of this diet. The Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, with the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Prince of Anhalt, joined him in maintaining, that they had no right to curtail the edict, or as it was called the *Recess* of the last diet, which left to every one the right of thinking and acting as they pleased in matters of religion, until the decision of a general council had settled the points in dispute.

His objections to the edict of the diet

They insisted further, that as that *Recess*, or decree, was passed in a general diet, nothing but an assembly, similarly constituted, had the power to alter or annul it. At the diet at Nuremberg (they said,) the origin and continued causes

of all the dissensions in the church had been most clearly developed ; the Pope himself had candidly acknowledged them, and yet, notwithstanding the representations then made, not one of the hundred grievances they had set forth had ever been remedied ; while, in all the deliberations that had taken place, it had been unanimously agreed upon, that a general council was the only medium to put a stop to these apparently endless debates. If they were now called upon to attend to this new decree, they must not only set aside the pure and simple oracles of truth, but by again permitting the celebration of mass in those countries where it had been abolished, they would open a door for a renewal of all the disorders, which, in as far as their own dominions were concerned, were happily at an end.

They expressed themselves willing to sanction any order for the ministers of religion to preach the gospel, according to the interpretation received by the church ; but as it was not yet settled which was the true church, they could not, until that was done, give their sanction to a decree so obscurely and insidiously worded. They were ready, they added, to

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render an account to all the world, as well as to the emperor, of their reasons for not giving their sanction to the decree voted by the diet, and declared their determination not to change any part of their opinion until they were convicted of being in error, by the verdict of a general council of the church, or by a national synod, held in Germany.

This declaration of the leading princes, was supported by the deputies of Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Windheim, Meinungen, Landau, Kempen, Hailbrun, Inn, Weissemburg, Nordlingen, and St. Gall, who two days after the publication of the edict of the diet, joined them in a protest against it.

The formal protest
of the Reformers :

In the protest, which was drawn up with great spirit, and published along with the edict of Spire, the protestors appealed to the emperor against all that had been decided upon in that diet, and to a general or national council, as also to all judges not compromised, and they delegated to a committee of their members the important task of obtaining from his majesty a revocation of the decree itself.

It was from this celebrated remonstrance or

protest, that the Reformers first obtained the honourable title of Protestants, a name which has clung to their descendants, and has now become the designation of all the sects that have separated from the Church of Rome.

Ferdinand had left the diet before the Reformers delivered in their protest ; but being anxious to secure their aid against the Turks, who were still laying waste his kingdom of Hungary, he thought he might tamper, as his brother the emperor had done ; he allowed them, therefore, without further molestation to worship God in their own way, and the Anabaptists were the only party against whom the anger of the diet was in any way manifested.

The Protestants, when they heard of the emperor's arrival in Italy, sent their commissioners to wait upon him at Placentia. They found Charles prepared to receive them, and at their first audience, intimated to him, in the most respectful manner, that the princes who had objected to conform to the decree of the diet at Spires, had done so from an earnest desire to prevent the disorders which it would infallibly lead to, and they besought him not to look upon their protest as any mark of their

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Their embassy to the
emperor :

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disobedience. They were anxious, they said, above all things, to conform to his wishes, and they expected of his impartial justice, that he would permit his subjects of the empire to act as they might think proper, in regard to the doctrines of Luther, until a general council, freely assembled in Germany, should put an end to all controversy. They assured him that if this was assented to, the princes would meet his wishes in every other respect, and assist him with all their forces in the war against the Turks.

Charles's reply to
that embassy:

Charles replied, that he would accept with pleasure of the proposed aid from the Protestant princes, but could give no direct answer to the other propositions, until he had heard his council. In the second audience, which he granted to these deputies, he put into their hands a written declaration, in which he stated that, previous to their arrival, he had been minutely informed of all that passed in the diet at Spires, and of the decree issued by the archduke, his brother; and that they must be aware how sensibly he felt the want of unanimity which prevailed among the princes at the diet. He had maturely delibe-

rated with his council, he said, on the whole affair, and was satisfied that the decree had been wisely drawn up, and was well calculated to allay the disorders in the empire, and to suppress those dangerous innovations, which, to the great scandal of religion, were daily propagated throughout the country. He was as anxious as any of the princes could be, for the meeting of a general council to settle all matters of faith, but must observe that, had his edicts been attended to, particularly that issued at Worms, there would not have been any such necessity for this council; and he must inform them, that what had once been decided upon by a majority of the members of a diet, could not be set aside by any minority, however respectable. He had, therefore, written to the Elector of Saxony, and to others, to command that they should abide by the decree of the last assembly, and he was in hopes that they would render obedience to his orders, particularly as union and obedience were now so necessary, when the Turks were about to penetrate into the centre of the empire.

He informed them further, that as soon as he had settled his affairs in Italy, he would not

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BOOK IX. fail to repair to Germany, for the purpose of
 attending to the concerns of that country.

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The answer of the
 deputies :

The deputies, in reply to this declaration, drew up an act of appeal, before witnesses, which they had delivered into the hands of the emperor, and which so enraged him, that he gave orders for their being confined to their houses, and forbade their writing to Germany, under pain of imprisonment and confiscation of their goods. But Cadeno, the deputy from Nuremberg, who was absent when this order was intimated to his colleagues, was no sooner informed of it, than he sent off an express to the senate of his native city, to communicate all that had taken place.

These harsh measures, with regard to the deputies, were not long persisted in, as the emperor on proceeding to Parma, sent orders for their being allowed to return to Germany, with the exception of Cadeno, who had presumed to disobey his orders. That honest burgher of Nuremberg was directed to remain in the suit of his majesty, on pain of death; but he made his escape to Ferrara, and from thence, by way of Venice, pursued his route to Germany.

When the senate of Nuremberg received the despatch from Italy, they communicated its contents to the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the other confederate princes and cities, and these princes being now convinced of what Luther had already foretold, and of the danger with which they were threatened, exerted themselves to effect a more permanent union among their own members.

Luther has always been considered, and perhaps deservedly, the great apostle of the Reformation; but at the same time that his doctrines, notwithstanding the severity of the edicts issued against them, were spreading their influence in Germany and the Low Countries, another Reformer of genius, equally adventurous, and of not less scriptural knowledge, was laying a foundation deep and broad in Switzerland, and the neighbouring states. This was Ulric Zuingle, a canon of Zurich, one of the most illustrious ornaments of his country, and a fervent supporter of the Protestant cause.

In his seclusion from the world, as a preacher to the convent of Einsiedeln, in the canton of Schweitz, Zuingle had found some spirits congenial to his own, among whom, Leo Judæ, the

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Some account of
Zuingle, the Swiss
Reformer:

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principal author of a German translation of the Bible, Francis Zingy, Chaplain of the Apostolical See, and John Œchsleim, were the most distinguished. With them he was accustomed to study the works of Erasmus, Reuchlin, and the Fathers; and from the confidential interchange of ideas which took place amongst these studious and zealous men, there soon arose a conviction of the necessity for a reformation in the doctrines and discipline of the catholic church. Stimulated to vigorous exertions in the cause of evangelical liberty and truth by the approbation of his friends, Zuingle, in his office of preacher, explained the scriptures to the people, and freely censured the errors of the Romish church. Having great influence with the administrator of the diocese, he soon procured a reformation of many of the abuses and corruptions of popery in several places of the Helvetic republic, and that, too, before he had ever heard of or read any of the writings of the German Reformer. He afterwards removed his residence to Zurich, where he was invited to become the pastor of the cathedral church, and despising the established order of reading the dominical lessons, began to de-

liver an uninterrupted series of discourses on the books of the New Testament, with a view to give his hearers a knowledge of the contents of that sacred volume. But though his plan was approved of by a majority of the chapter, there were many who considered it a dangerous innovation.

It was on the 1st of January, 1519, that he delivered his first discourse, according to the plan he had laid down, and he continued to adhere steadfastly to that plan. In 1522, he with others wrote a letter to the Bishop of Constance, remonstrating against the celibacy of the clergy, and circulated an address to the inhabitants of the Helvetic confederacy, entreating them not to obstruct the reformation of the church, or molest those of the clergy who had married: assuring them, at the same time, that the devil only could be considered the author of that law which enforced clerical celibacy. Through his exertions, the Reformation was established in the city and canton of Zurich, and he was commissioned, by the government of that state, to organize a system of public instruction.

The doctrines of this apostle of Switzerland

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His difference with
Luther:

were in many respects the same as those of Luther; but it is to be lamented, that they differed in some essential matters relative to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and that this difference prevented them from ever cordially uniting. Zuingli maintained that this sacrament was only a commemorative rite; while Luther asserted that the partakers of the sacrament, along with the bread and wine, received the real body and blood of Christ, although he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, or any actual change of that bread and wine into the body and blood of the Saviour.

The progress of Zuingli's doctrines, and their legal establishment in some of the cantons, induced the Catholics to have recourse to the sword in defence of the ancient church, and Zuingli and his coadjutors were obliged to accompany the Protestants of Zurich to the field of battle. During a war which was thus engendered, he was unfortunately slain, on the 11th of October, 1531, and the barbarous revenge of his enemies was shewn by their treatment of his dead body, which they quartered, and threw into the fire.

And untimely death.

At the time, however, that the news of the

emperor's declaration reached Germany, as we have already mentioned, the Protestants of that country began to make every preparation to oppose his treachery; and perceiving the advantage to be gained, by an alliance with the warlike Swiss, the Landgrave of Hesse, and Ernest of Luneburg, were deputed to try and effect an union between the two great leaders, Luther and Zuingle. Under the mediation of these princes, Luther, Melancthon, and others, repaired to Maubourg, where they were met by Zuingle, Oecheleim, Martin Bucer, Andrew Osiander of Nuremberg, Brentius of Halle, and Stephen Agricola of Augsburg, all men of great learning, and equally interested in the spread of the gospel. But after several days of keen disputation, it was found they could not agree on any of the points that formed the principal difference in their respective creeds.

The princes entreated them, as they agreed in all essential matters, not to trouble the union by any cavil about what only concerned individual feelings, and pointed out the great advantage that the emperor and their enemies would gain, by any thing like a schism in their party.

Their advice, however, was of little avail, and

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An attempt made to reconcile the two sects.

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Charles being well-informed of all their divisions, hastened the important ceremony of his coronation, that he might be able to leave Bologna, and repair to Germany. While preparations were going forward for the reduction of Florence, he sent orders to the princes of Germany to meet him in a general diet at Augsburg, where he stated he would be against the 8th of April, 1530. His letters were addressed particularly to the followers of Luther, and he stated it to be his anxious wish that they would attend, in order that an end might be put to their religious dissensions, and that they should be able to join him in the Turkish war.

The fall of the republic of Florence, that last strong-hold of Italian liberty, soon left him at leisure to pursue his ulterior objects; but as he was delayed beyond the time he had at first appointed, the meeting of the diet was postponed to the 20th of June.

Charles, on leaving Bologna, passed through Mantua, and the Venetian states, and crossing the Alps, halted at Trent; from thence he proceeded to Augsburg, and arrived in safety on the 13th of June. In his journey towards that city, he had many opportunities of observ-

ing the disposition of the Germans, with regard to the points in controversy; and he found their minds so much irritated and inflamed, that he was satisfied that severe and coercive measures could not be adopted until every other means had been tried, and had proved ineffectual. He made his public entry into Augsburg with extraordinary pomp, and was received by such an assembly of the princes of the empire, as was suitable to the importance of the affairs that were to come under their consideration, and to the honour of the emperor, who, after a long absence, had returned to them, crowned with reputation and success.

His presence seemed to have communicated to all parties a spirit of moderation, and a desire for peace. The Protestant princes would not allow Luther to accompany them to the diet, lest Charles should be offended at having a person, excommunicated by the Pope, forced upon his presence; and the divines that did accompany them were prohibited from preaching openly, during their residence in Augsburg.

Melancthon, respected as a person of the greatest learning, and known to be the most mild and pacific of the reformed clergy, was

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employed by these princes to draw up a confession of their faith. He was instructed to do it in terms as little offensive to the Roman Catholics, as a regard to truth would permit, and we may believe that he, who had never suffered the rancour of controversy to envenom his style, even in writings purely polemical, would execute this task, so congenial to his natural disposition, with great moderation and consummate ability.

The Protestant's
confession of faith
published :

The creed which he composed was publicly read in the diet, and some of the catholic divines appointed to examine it. This led to fresh discussions between them and the Protestants. Melancthon softened some expressions, made concessions in regard to others, and put the least exceptionable sense upon all ; yet so many marks of distinction were now established, and such insuperable barriers placed between the two churches, that all hopes of bringing about a coalition seemed utterly desperate. Charles at last finding all his efforts to bend the Protestant clergy to his views perfectly fruitless, had recourse to the princes, their protectors ; but these were as fixed in their principles as the most learned of their divines.

The emperor endeavours to gain the Protestant princes.

The Elector of Saxony was first assailed, and he had many reasons for wishing to gain the good opinion of the emperor. He had succeeded his brother in the government of the electorate, but had not as yet been invested by the emperor; and though the ancient laws of the empire were clear and imperative, in all that regarded direct descent, collateral succession was left in some degree of doubt, and had often been attended with great difficulty. The emperor might interfere, if he thought proper, with the succession of a younger to an elder brother, and was not bound, as in the case of a son succeeding to a father, to invest even such near collateral heirs with the dominions of their kinsmen; and while the ceremony of investiture was withheld, the title of the heir in possession was considered incomplete.

The Elector JOHN stood in this predicament: he had succeeded his brother, and Charles V. had granted him the investiture of the states of Saxony for two years only. He had complained loudly of this, but the emperor would not relax from any of his high privileges. When the first term had expired, it was renewed for two years more, and now he was

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offered not only a full and permanent investiture of all the states of his house in due form, but other great and invaluable privileges, provided he would return to the bosom of the church, and restore the Catholic religion to his states.

There was still another pressing reason for his wishing to secure the emperor's favour. Charles had long promised one of his sisters to the electoral prince, upon condition that he should return to the ancient religion. This had prevented his marrying for a considerable time, as the elector imagined the difficulty, in regard to that condition, might eventually be removed; but when he found that it could not, he had accepted of a Princess of Cleves for his son's wife, and according to the laws of the state, it was necessary for the emperor to ratify the articles upon which their marriage was concluded, and which added greatly to the temporal dominions of the elector and his family. This confirmation, however, had hitherto been sought in vain, but it, too, was now offered, if he and his son would only return to the faith of their ancestors.

John made answer to those who came with

such tempting offers, that the salvation of his soul was of more importance than the aggrandisement of his family, and therefore he most firmly refused to change his opinions upon any such conditions.

The Elector of Hesse was equally tempted with offers of temporal benefits, and assailed with promises of wealth and extended dominion, but he refused them all, and would not depart from the true faith. Ernest, Duke of Luneburg, and George, Margrave of Brandenburg, both younger branches of their respective houses, were offered the chief dignity of their families, if they would recant. But they were firm to that faith, which conviction, and not a love of change, had impressed upon their minds, and rejected the allurements held out to them with contempt and disdain.

Charles, finding his offers thus rejected by all parties, invited the Catholic princes and deputies to his palace on the 7th of September, and after a consultation of two hours, and when the greater part of them had been dismissed, the Elector of Saxony and his adherents were sent for. The Elector Palatine addressed them, and stated the disappointment the empe-

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ror had met with, in finding such a determination to persist in error, and his surprise at the insolence of a few individuals, (for such the followers of Luther could only be considered,) in presuming to attack the universal church, and to find fault with the sovereign pontiff, and the religion of all the princes and kings of the earth, as well as the creed of their own ancestors. That, since they continued to persist in demanding a council, the emperor would, as soon as they had agreed on a convenient place for holding one, make use of all his influence with the Pope to accomplish it. But he stated, that he would require, as an insuperable condition, that the Protestants should conform to the religion of the majority; for to assemble a council, and leave things as they were, would only be adding fuel to that flame which already consumed the empire.

The princes, after a little deliberation, replied that they had not established any new religious sect, nor had they separated from the Christian church. They thanked his majesty for promising them a general council, but prayed that it might be made a free assembly, and called together with as little delay as pos-

sible, according to the resolution formed by the diet at Spires. That with regard to those ceremonies and dogmas of the Roman church which they had abolished, they could only say, that in their consciences they could never admit of their being restored.

We cannot follow in detail the debates and remonstrances which took place before the emperor, during the diet at Augsburg. He found that neither prayers, promises, nor threats could move the heroes of the reformation, or make them deviate from that confession of their faith which they had publicly signed and acknowledged; but in order to get rid of the question with some degree of eclat, he intimated, on the 22nd of September, that they should be allowed till the end of April next year, to consider of their return to the Romish church. In the meantime, they were prohibited, under the most severe penalties, from speaking of or publicly defending any proposition injurious to that church: they were not to interfere with the liberties or religious ceremonies of the Catholics in their dominions, and were forbidden to receive into their communion,

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His decision with
regard to them :

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during the interval allowed them, any Catholic of either sex.

The electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, with the archbishop of Saltzbourg, the bishops of Strasburg and Spire, and George, duke of Saxony, William, prince of Bavaria, and Henry the younger, duke of Brunswick Wolfenbittel, all Catholics of the strictest order, were appointed a committee to draw up the decree of the diet. But, during the adjournment necessary for that purpose, the emperor was informed that the elector of Saxony, and the other Protestant princes, wished to return to their dominions; and as there was no law that could compel their attendance longer than they thought proper, he felt at a loss how to detain them. He seized the opportunity of a pretence for securing a felon who had murdered one of his soldiers, to place guards at the gates of the city, and gave orders to these guards to prevent every person from going out. This made the princes complain, and with reason, that the liberty of the diet was violated; and though they wished to leave Augsburg, they saw that if they retired altogether, they would

And attempt to detain them at Augsburg.

give the Catholics an opportunity of saying that they had abandoned their cause. It was, therefore, settled, that only such of their members as could command the largest body of troops should return to their states, and watch over the safety of those that remained, in case their persons or property were put in danger. The Elector of Saxony was fixed upon, and when the emperor found he was about to depart, he entreated him to remain for five days, and he should have an edict, with which he and his party should be perfectly satisfied. That edict was immediately published, and began by stating, that the Protestants, having laid the confession of their faith before the diet of Augsburg, it had been fully answered and refuted by proofs from the Holy Scriptures and the councils of the fathers. That after various conferences had been held between them and the Catholics, they had retracted many articles injurious to the ancient doctrine of the church, and had persevered in maintaining others. But, as his majesty was desirous of peace, they should be allowed till the end of April of the following year, to examine whether it would be better for them

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Edict of the diet.

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to return to the communion of the church, or continue in the schism which they had formed.

After various other regulations, which have no connexion with our history, the Protestants were commanded to prepare a list of their grievances, to be presented to a general council, which it was promised should be assembled within six months. The princes little expected such a decision as that which was published, and boldly replied, they were not aware that their confession had been in any way refuted; on the contrary, it was supported by the Scriptures, as they could have proved, had they been permitted to see the paper which had been read as its refutation. But though that paper had been withheld from them, they were unwilling it should remain without an answer, and had, in as far as they were able, prepared an apology for an answer, which, if his majesty would take the trouble of reading, he would find perfectly conformable to truth, and in accordance with that confession of their faith which they had already made.

Remonstrance of the
Protestants.

The emperor expressed his surprise at the obstinacy of the Protestants, and after some reasoning, assumed the high tone of a monarch,

and informed them that, if they would not accept of his decree, he would no longer delay taking such measures as his dignity required of him, to compel them to submit to his laws.

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The Protestants left Augsburg very dissatisfied with the proceedings of the diet, which had in some measure annulled all that had been done in regard to the reformation of the churches in their states, and had ended by convincing them that Charles was determined to reduce them to obedience by force of arms, if they hesitated to submit of their own accord.

The renewal of the report, of an union among the Catholic princes for the support of the established religion, and to which it was said the emperor had now acceded, made the Protestants sensible that it had become necessary to stand more openly on their guard, and that it was requisite for their own safety, as much as for the success of their cause, to enter into a stricter union. For this purpose, a meeting was called at Schmalkalde, a town in Upper Saxony, now belonging to the duchy of Gotha, where it was settled that they should sign a league of mutual defence against all aggressors, and endeavour to form the Protestant states of the empire into one regular body.

The emperor joins
the Catholic league.

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There were other matters, besides religion, that hastened the adoption of this union. Charles had fixed upon his brother as his successor in the empire, and on leaving Augsburg, had proceeded to Constance, and given directions to the archbishop of Mentz, as president of the Electoral college, to summon a meeting of that body against the 29th of December. The Elector of Saxony, who was opposed to the advancement of the Archduke, resolved to counteract the proceedings of this meeting of the elector's friends, by a more numerous one of his own party; and he invited the reformed Swiss cantons of Zurich and Basle to send their deputies to the Protestant diet assembled at Schmalkalde.

The Schmalkalde
union:

This Protestant union met on the 22nd of December, and the Elector despatched his eldest son, John Frederick to Constance, to remonstrate against the citation of the Elector of Mentz, which, he said, had not been made according to the forms prescribed; and also to represent to the Electoral college that it was contrary to the liberties of the empire, and in opposition to the regulations of the Golden Bull, to create a King of the Romans during the lifetime of the reigning emperor. The

assembly at Schmalkalde joined the elector in writing to the emperor and the electors, and in praying them not to do any thing so contrary to the liberties of the Germanic body, as to pursue the measure understood to be in agitation. But their representations had no effect, and though the electoral prince of Saxony made a bold stand for the liberties and constitutions of his country; the Electoral college, on the 5th of January, 1531, gave their suffrages to Ferdinand, and he was declared King of the Romans.

The emperor communicated this event with his own hand to the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, and to the noble princes and Protestant deputies assembled at Schmalkalde, enjoining them without any delay to receive his august brother Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, king of Bohemia and Hungary, as the duly-elected King of the Romans. But the princes replied to these orders, by stating, that when the time should arrive for them to decide, they would act as they thought best for the interests of the empire.

These princes had assembled in December, but it was not till the month of March follow-

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ing that they had settled the terms of their league. It was signed by all the princes and deputies of Protestant Germany who were present; and in order that an opportunity might be afforded for others to join them, it was agreed that the deputies should remain permanently assembled, and that the King of Denmark, the dukes of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, the cities of Hamburg, Emden, Northeim, Frankfort, Brunswick, Gottingen, Minden, Hanover, Hildesheim, Lubec, Stettin, and the other maritime towns, should be solicited to sign also.

Their application to
France.

When they found that law-suits had been commenced in the imperial chamber against many of their number, on account of their religious principles, they sent an embassy to the kings of England and France, with a long manifesto, justifying their doctrine and their conduct, and imploring aid against the encroachments of the house of Austria. Francis I. had indeed observed, with all the jealousy of a rival, the reputation which the emperor had gained by his seeming disinterestedness in settling the affairs of Italy, and had beheld with great concern the success that had attended the

establishment of his brother upon the throne of Germany, which seemed to perpetuate his authority in the empire; but the kingdom of France was already much exhausted, and his people had been too much discouraged by bad fortune to be precipitately forced into a new war. No provocation had been given by the emperor, and as hardly a pretext had been afforded him for a rupture, he saw that he could not violate the treaty of peace which he himself had so lately solicited, without forfeiting the esteem of all Europe, and being detested as a prince void of probity and honour. Yet he listened with the utmost eagerness to the complaints of the Protestants, and though he could not countenance their religious opinions, he determined, by supporting the Schmalkalde confederation, secretly to cherish those sparks of political discord, which might afterwards be blown into a flame; and, in order that a measure of so much delicacy, and difficulty might be properly conducted, he selected Langey, Count de Bellay, esteemed one of the ablest negotiators in Europe, to act as his private agent.

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Francis I. sends
Bellay as his secret
agent into Germany:

Langey proceeded to Strasburg, and took up

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his residence with Sleidan, the historian, a man who had risen, by his merits, to the chief magistracy of the city. But he was obliged to remain concealed for some time, as the Germans had taken a great dislike to the French, on account of their supposed influence in having caused the invasion of Hungary by the Turks. At last, he made his way to the courts of the Protestant princes, and got introduced to the imperial cities on the Rhine, when he began to assail their prejudices, by insinuating that there was now a necessity for breaking up the Swabian league. It was that league, he said, which had already rendered the House of Austria so powerful, that they had only one other step to take, to change the government of Germany into an absolute monarchy; and that this step was pretty far advanced was evident, by the consent which had been ordered for the election of Ferdinand, as King of the Romans.

Conduct of that
agent.

By these and other representations, he contrived to keep alive the ill-humour of the malcontent princes, until he had effected a treaty between them and his master—a treaty which, though concealed at the time, and of no immediate advantage, laid the foundation of that union

which on many occasions was fatal to the ambitious projects of Charles, and taught the discontented princes of the empire where, in future, they might find a protector.

Henry VIII. of England was too much engaged with his divorce from the queen, Catharine of Arragon, to pay any attention to the representations from Germany; besides, he still conceived it possible to gain the sanction of the Pope, and the approbation of the emperor, and felt no inclination to take a part with their enemies. The Protestant embassy was therefore dismissed, with fair promises, and a small supply of money.

The solicitations preferred to their own Protestant cities, were not received so favourably as had been expected, and when the princes met at the desire of the Elector of Saxony, about the end of March, they found that the King of Denmark had refused to enter into the league as king, though he had joined it as Duke of Holstein. The Duke of Mecklenburg had excused himself on account of his ambassadors having subscribed to the decree of Augsburg. The Duke of Pomerania also found a reason for declining to become a party to the

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Answer of Henry VIII.

Several princes and cities refuse to join the league.

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league. The city of Lubeck, however, had no objection to join the Protestants, but with true mercantile caution, wished first to have some explanation regarding the expenses. The city of Luneburg had replied, that they were ready to follow their prince, Ernest, in all his undertakings; but many returned no answer at all.

The Protestants
have a second meet-
ing.

The Elector of Saxony was too unwell to attend the meeting in person, but his son, John Frederick, took his seat, and ably filled his place. After collecting the opinions of those at the diet, it was finally settled, that, for the present, they should keep in pay a force sufficient for their immediate protection; and without delay, name the officers who were to command that force. But, in the mean time, prosecutions against Protestantism began to multiply in the imperial chamber; the enmity between the two parties was increased instead of being diminished, and the country was on the eve of a war equally dreaded by both parties, and of which the issue could not fail to be prejudicial to Germany. From a belief that this was inevitable, the emperor again gave his consent, that another attempt should be made at conciliation.

The Archbishop of Mentz, and the Elector Palatine, undertook a mission to the diet at Schmalkalde, but the Protestants refused to receive them, unless an order was given to quash all legal proceedings in the imperial chamber against their members. The whole of this year was spent in negotiations and meetings, where neither sincerity nor good faith actuated the individuals that carried on these negotiations; and all that could be accomplished, was an order for a diet to meet at Ratisbon, some time in the following summer.

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Henry VIII. had begun to change his opinion of the Pope and the Catholic religion; and previous to the meeting of the proposed diet, he addressed a very complimentary letter to the princes and deputies assembled at Schmalkalde, assuring them “that it had given him very great satisfaction, to find that it was their intention to persist in the maintenance of the true religion in all its purity, and recommended to them to persevere in their endeavours to procure a permanent peace,—to provide a remedy for the evils which had crept into the church, and correct the errors which had been propagated by the ignorance or malice of de-

Henry VIII. writes
to the Union.

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signing men." He did not, however, hold out any promise of support more essential than these expressions of satisfaction. Yet, his treaty with the King of France served to distract the attention of the emperor, and gave a confidence to that Protestant league which met at Frankfort in the month of June, and boldly remonstrated against the irregular election of the archduke,—an election contrary to the established laws and liberties of the empire.

The Emperor writes
to conciliate the
Protestants :

The emperor, to conciliate, and if possible reconcile the Protestants to a temporary peace, during the distracted state of his affairs, from the continued ravages of the Turks, and the newly-formed union between France and England, readily granted the boon they had at first required, and ordered all proceedings to cease against them in the imperial chamber. But while he was thus occupied in making his peace with the Protestant party, Francis was rousing into action the discontented spirit of the Pope, who still brooded over his disappointment at the judgment the emperor had given in the case of the duke of Ferrara. The proposed marriage between Catherine de Me-

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dicis, Clement's niece, and Henry, duke of Orleans, Francis's second son, established the family alliance of these two powers; and had the Protestants been united among themselves, they might at that moment have compelled the emperor to grant them any terms they thought proper to demand; but, unfortunately, the clergy differed in their interpretation of many passages of the Scriptures; some, guided by zeal for the truth, others by motives that could bear no such favourable interpretation; and had established so many divisions and distinctions among their sects, that there was no cordial union or christian sympathy for the general good of their still feeble and unsettled church. Those who viewed their situation with calmness and an unbiassed judgment, made great efforts to unite the Swiss with the Germans, or the followers of Zuingle with those of Luther; but the elector of Saxony, notwithstanding his other great qualities, was already a bigot in religion: he refused to sanction any such union, and opposed the wise and political views of the duke of Luneburg and Landgrave of Hesse, who saw the necessity of securing the aid of the Swiss, even though

Who begin to feel
the effects of their
religious differences.

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it should cost them some sacrifice in points of abstract doctrine.

The Anabaptists, too, began to disturb the peace of the country by their dangerous fanaticism and absurd bigotry. Still, though this want of union lessened the influence of the Protestants, the emperor was unable, without their aid, to resist the Mahomedan invasion, which threatened, under Solyman (who had entered Hungary, at the head of 300,000 men), to overthrow the empire; and he prevailed upon them to meet him in a diet at Schweinfurt, in April, 1532. The elector of Saxony sent

A diet held at
Schweinfurt:

his eldest son, John Frederick; but Ernest of Luneburgh, and the Landgrave of Hesse, with the Prince of Anhalt, attended in person. There was a large meeting of the Catholic princes; and as both parties were desirous of coming to terms, it was soon agreed that all Protestants should be allowed to conform to the confession of Augsburg, and universal peace be established in Germany, until a general council could be held. The Protestants bound themselves not to admit of any innovation, and promised not to hold any intercourse with the Anabaptists or other revolutionary sectaries.

The emperor and Protestant states signed this treaty on the 22nd of August, and as it was the first decree in favour of the reformed church that had ever been published by the German diet, it gave cause for much discussion throughout Europe. At Rome, Charles was blamed for having sanctioned by treaty the existence of a political body of no small consequence, in what had hitherto been considered merely a religious sect: but those who could take a more enlarged view of the state of Europe, admired his prudence in thus providing against the danger to which the empire was exposed by the Turkish invasion, and which could only be obviated by the united force of all his Christian subjects.

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Issues a decree in favour of the Protestants:

The Protestants, satisfied with the conduct of the emperor, entered warmly into all his views, and even exceeded the contingents they had promised to furnish for the war in Hungary. They not only advanced the subsidy agreed upon, but sent as a gratuity the sum of a hundred and fifty thousand florins, which was so flattering to Charles, that he wrote with his own hand to the Elector of Saxony, thanking him and the princes of his

Effects of that decree.

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party for their zeal in his cause, and the effectual support they had given to the cause of Christendom.

The emperor enabled to meet the Turks.

The Catholics, imitating the example of the Protestants, soon placed the emperor at the head of one of the largest and best-appointed armies that had ever been levied in Germany. But though the two greatest monarchs in the world were opposed to each other, there was no battle of any importance fought. Solyman, finding it impossible to make head against an enemy always on his guard, retired to Constantinople, towards the end of autumn.

The Elector of Saxony did not live to see the issue of this campaign; he died on the 16th of August, while the army was assembling in the neighbourhood of Vienna; and was succeeded by his son, John Frederick.

A.D. 1533.

Charles goes to Spain:

Immediately after the retreat of the Turks, Charles, who was anxious to visit Spain, set out for Italy on his way thither: he met the Pope a second time at Bologna, but found him very much out of humour, on account of the concessions granted to the heretics in Germany. He endeavoured to divert the emperor from the measure of a general council; but when

And meets the Pope at Bolégna.

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he found him inflexible on that point, he had recourse to artifices, which he knew would delay, if not entirely defeat the calling of this assembly. The Protestants had demanded that the council should be held in Germany: the Pope insisted, if it did meet, that it must be in Italy. The former had contended that all points in dispute should be determined by the words of the Holy Scriptures only; but Clement insisted that the decrees of the church, with the opinions of the fathers, should be held of equal authority. The Protestants had required a free council, in which the divines commissioned by different chambers should have a voice. The Pope wished to model it in such a manner as to render its decisions dependant on his pleasure; these, with a great variety of other matters, he knew it would require time to adjust, and effectually answer his purpose of putting off its meeting, without drawing on himself the odium of obstructing a measure which all Europe concurred in thinking necessary for the good of the church. But our limits will not admit of our continuing details that belong more to general history than the family annals of Hanover, though the princes

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of that house, we may observe, were concerned in all the transactions of the time, and took a leading part in all the discussions that related to the establishment of the reformed religion.

A.D. 1534.

Origin of the disturbances in the city of Munster.

Among other cities of some consequence, that of Munster stands conspicuous for the opposition which it gave to the doctrines of Luther, on their first introduction, and the fanaticism which ruled its citizens at a later period, when its Catholic establishments had been overthrown. Munster was the seat of a bishoprick, and the see, at the period when the reformation began, was held by Erick of Grubenhagen, the brother of the reigning duke, Philip I. As a Catholic bishop, Erick felt himself called upon to put a stop to the preaching of Luther's doctrines within his diocese; but wishing to do it by gentle means, he bought up the first preachers, and prevailed upon them to leave the city. Among these preachers, however, there was one Rotheman, a person of low birth, but a zealous disciple of the reformation. After having spent the seventy florins which had been paid to him, he returned to the city, and began to preach the doctrines of Luther. Erick sent an order for the senate

to banish him; but instead of complying, they treated his order with disdain, and allowed the preacher to harangue the people with perfect freedom.

Erick died in 1532, and was succeeded by a count of Waldeck, who continued his opposition to the Lutherans, but who, at the same time, when he found they were gaining ground, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between them and their Catholic brethren. Rotheman, when he found he was courted, resolved to make himself feared. Of a bold and daring temper, he was without any fixed principles of his own, and, as the event proved, was ready to adopt any religious doctrine that promised to aggrandize himself.

After adhering for a time to the tenets of Luther, he was converted by Roll, a Dutchman, to those of Zuingle, and became a disciple of the Swiss school. His party gained possession of the government of the city, and the Catholic clergy were banished. But very soon after that event, two men, also from Holland, Gerhard, a bookbinder, and John Boccold, a journeyman-tailor of Leyden, settled in the place. They were firm Anabaptists, and possessed with the

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Conduct of Rotheman the reformer.

Arrival of John of Leyden.

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rage of making proselytes; but to conform to the ruling passion of the evangelical leader who commanded the city, the one pretended to become a zealous Zuinglist, while the other only ventured to speak cautiously of the doctrines of the Anabaptists.

Leaving Munster, when he found he had made some impression, John of Leyden retired to Osnaburg; while the duty of converting Rotheman devolved upon his friend and disciple Herman Stapredra. Herman knew the temper of his man, and contrived, by able management, not only to convert Rotheman, but to send him forth as a preacher of the new doctrines. These different and sudden changes in their apostle began to excite the attention of the senate, who, sincere in their zeal for the true Protestant cause, became alarmed at the progress of his fanatical measures. Rotheman demanded that a conference might be held in presence of the senate, and that the Catholics as well as the Protestants of Munster should send their divines to listen to his defence of the doctrines of his newly-adopted creed. But the arguments brought forward against him and his party were so convincing,

that the senate, instead of supporting, published a decree of banishment against all who were favourers of the Anabaptists, or who would not subscribe a declaration condemning their doctrines.

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The Anabaptists banished from the city ; but allowed to return :

The severity of this decree rather increased than diminished the followers of the new sect, and persecuted as they were, they resolved to brave all dangers rather than leave the city. The senate in alarm, applied to their former sovereign, the bishop, who cordially joined them against the Anabaptists ; but the majority of the citizens were now in their favour ; and to put an end to all complaints, it was resolved that the harsh decree should be annulled, and that they should be allowed to remain in the city, and enjoy liberty of conscience, provided their ministers did not preach in public. But it was too late to impose any restrictions upon this turbulent people, and at that critical moment Boccold, the tailor, returned, bringing with him one John Matthias, a baker of Haerlem ; and they were both received as the prophets of God, sent to confirm his people in the true faith.

Emboldened by the countenance of their nu-

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They get possession
of the place.

merous disciples, Matthias and Boccold taught their opinions openly; and, not satisfied with the liberty they enjoyed, they made several attempts to get the government of the place into their own hands, in order that their doctrines might be established by public authority. They secretly invited their partisans, who were numerous in Westphalia, to repair to Munster, where five hundred of the newly-baptized had vowed to signalize their conversion by some act that should immortalize their party. They had the cannon withdrawn from the arsenal, and at a concerted moment, overpowered the guards of the palace and senate-house. The inhabitants, indeed, flew to arms, but being unprepared, were forced back to their houses, while the fanatics kept running through the streets with drawn swords and horrible howlings, calling out alternately, "Repent, and be baptised;" and "Depart ye ungodly!"

The senators, the canons of the church, the nobility, and all the more sober citizens, whether Catholics or Protestants, terrified at their threats, fled in confusion, and left the city under the dominion of the frantic multitude.

This multitude consisted chiefly of strangers ; and, as no one remained to overawe or control them, they instantly set to work, to model the government according to their own wild ideas. At first nothing better presented itself, than the old institution of senators ; and Knipper-Dolling, the only burgess of any respectability among them, was, with another proselyte, promoted to that honour. But the heroic baker, anxious to have the whole authority vested in his own person, soon formed a resolution to destroy this new establishment. He represented to the senators, that they had usurped a place, which was prohibited by the gospel. That since the establishment of the new baptism, they had been taught to consider the secular magistracy a tyranny, as it regarded man, and an abomination in the sight of the Almighty. That to tolerate any civil authority within the walls of Munster, was only permitting a change of slavery, and not allowing them to enjoy that liberty, which was the birthright of the children of God. After the promulgation of these doctrines, no one dared pretend to exercise any power among his fellow-citizens, and the regulation of the whole oligarchy

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Matthias becomes
supreme ruler:

devolved upon Matthias. He was at great care to collect provisions, in case of a siege, and to train his followers to the use of arms, that they might be able to meet their enemies; and he conducted these measures with a prudence and discretion, that shewed little of the religious fanatic. He formed his troops into regiments, named their officers, and brought the whole under the most exact military discipline; and not content with the force which the city afforded, applied to the Anabaptists of his native country, and under the name of a loan, demanded money, to raise a still greater army. He invited individuals to transport their families to what he was pleased to call his city of refuge, and though an expedition from Holland failed, a great number of his turbulent sect from the upper provinces of Germany, and from the duchy of Friesland actually joined him.

And is joined by
numbers from Ger-
many and other
parts:

The Bishop of Munster collected a considerable army, and attempted to reduce his rebellious city; and was aided by the neighbouring states, as the band of frantic enthusiasts that governed it, were equally obnoxious to the Protestants and the Catholics. Matthias was not satisfied to remain secure within his

walls ; he often ventured out, at the head of a chosen band, and had the advantage in several skirmishes. One day, however, he ventured too far, and was intercepted, and in the attempt to make his way through the enemy's ranks, he was killed.

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But is killed in a sally:

His death was no sooner known, than three distinguished members of the faction claimed his place as the directing prophet or judge of Israel ; these were Knipper-Dolling, the late senator, a man of birth and respectability ; Rotheman, so famous for his change of faith ; and John, the tailor of Leyden, who was already regarded by his party as a second Elias. Prudence dictated that they should rather unite and reign together, than that their cause should be lost by any division while the enemy was at their gates, and they accordingly agreed to do so ; but in a short time, the prophet of Leyden found means to get himself acknowledged as the undisputed successor of Matthias.

The bishop had still kept the field, but when he found he could not take the place by assault, he had enforced a rigorous blockade, in hopes, by a system of starvation, to bring back the deluded inhabitants to a true sense of their folly.

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John of Leyden his
successor:

24th June.

His madness:

John of Leyden, when made director, was indefatigable in his exertions to strengthen the place, but with his elevation, he evidently lost the command of his reason. He first established twelve judges over the people, and then, by means of a fanatic goldsmith of the city, had himself proclaimed King, and was solemnly crowned in the public square.

The extravagance of this madman roused the indignation of the princes of Brunswick, and they resolved to put an end to his career of folly; but in the mean time, he had so completely changed his system, that from a republican enthusiast, he had become a most despotic monarch. He had appointed some of his most devoted followers to high-sounding offices at his court, had assumed all the pomp of royalty, coined money, and published a code of laws, for the government of his newly-established monarchy. But notwithstanding these changes, the city still maintained itself against the accumulated forces of its enemies; and though pressed by famine, it refused to yield.

Luther had testified against this fanatical sect from their first appearance, and had deeply lamented their progress. He had exposed the

delusion with great strength of argument and acrimony of style, and now called loudly upon all the states of Germany, to put a stop to a frenzy, not less pernicious to society, than fatal to religion. The emperor was absent, and occupied with other cares and projects, and had no leisure to attend to so distant an object; but the princes of the empire were assembled under the authority of the King of the Romans, and voted a supply of men and money to the Bishop of Munster. The forces raised in consequence of this resolution, were commanded by Count Oberstein, a celebrated general, who had orders to conduct the siege, under the direction of the bishop. But the supplies voted by the diet were ill paid, and the army which Oberstein had collected soon dwindled away; yet, as enough remained to maintain the blockade, the sufferings of the besieged continued to increase.

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Luther rouses the
princes to suppress
the sect :

The city begins to
suffer from the block-
ade :

The King of this modern Zion, for so he was denominated, made great exertions to keep up the spirits of his people. Each day, he invented some new artifice to amuse their minds. The utmost license was permitted, and every species of debauchery encouraged; but it was

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soon discovered that these could neither allay the hunger, nor quench the thirst of the deluded multitude. They were exhorted to suffer death, rather than deliver themselves up to the fury of their enemies, and were assured that heaven would work some strange miracle in their favour. But they were no longer to be cajoled with words, their cry was for bread, and if it could not be brought to them, they requested that they might be allowed to go and search for it. Their demand, indeed, could no longer be resisted, the gates were opened, and above a thousand of the most clamorous left the city. John consoled those that remained, by assuring them that before Easter, they would be delivered from all their sufferings. The bishop, he said, would be conquered before that period, and the other princes that had joined him would acknowledge the independence of his kingdom. This prediction in some measure satisfied them at the time, and they returned to their duty. But there were many who doubted the truth of his prophecy, and had sense enough left, to think of securing their safety, by leaving a city where there was no longer a hope of preserving their existence.

Among these, one named Stradt, had the resolution to make his way to the head-quarters of the bishop, where he engaged to conduct in safety, a few chosen troops into the place. His proposition was agreed to, and during the darkness of the ensuing night, he fulfilled his engagement, by placing the troops in possession of one of the gates, through which the bishop entered next morning at the head of his army.

The more daring of the Anabaptists made a desperate resistance, but were speedily overcome and reduced to sue for quarters; and very few escaped from the carnage which followed the capture of the city. Orders had been given to spare the king and his chief minister, that their death might be made a more striking example to their deluded followers, and accordingly they were taken alive. John was loaded with fetters, and carried about as a spectacle, from city to city, to gratify the curiosity of the people, and was exposed to all their insults. His spirit, however, was nothing broken by this sad reverse; and he still adhered with unshaken firmness to the distinguishing tenets of his faith. At last he was brought back to Munster, the scene of his exaltation and his crimes,

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And is taken.

John of Leyden a
prisoner, and put to
death:

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and was put to death with the most exquisite and lingering tortures, which he bore with astonishing fortitude. This extraordinary man, who had gained such uncontrolled dominion over the minds of his followers, was only twenty-six years of age when he expired.

With the death of their king, the monarchy of the Anabaptists came to an end. But it was owing to the steady adherence of Ernest of Luneburg, that the Bishop of Munster was put in possession of the capital of his diocese. When the allies deserted the bishop's standard for want of pay, Ernest, at his own expense, kept his troops in the field, and without reference to any difference in their religion, zealously supported the cause of his ally. The few Anabaptists that escaped from the general slaughter, found refuge in the city of Lubeck, where they were employed by the senate, in their war against the King of Denmark, and were either cut off in that war, or dispersed among the provinces of Germany, and the Low Countries. Their descendants still exist as a religious sect, but are only remarkable for their quiet and peaceable lives, and their regular and industrious habits.

Dispersion of the
Anabaptists :

During these transactions on the borders of the Brunswick states, which more immediately engaged the attention of the princes of that house, there were others going forward in the empire, that tended to consolidate the power, and display the influence of the Protestant league. The Duke of Würtemberg had been expelled from his dominions, on account of his oppressive and violent administration, and had lived in exile for nearly fifteen years. The Landgrave of Hesse, his guardian and relation, conceiving that he had expiated his offence, and atoned for his errors by so long an exile, began to use every effort to recover for him his ancient dominions; but the King of the Romans obstinately refused to relinquish that valuable acquisition. The Landgrave, therefore, had recourse to the King of France; and in terms of his alliance with the diet of Schmalkalde, claimed his protection. Francis I. was eager to embrace every opportunity of distressing the House of Austria, and of wresting from its power a territory so remote from its other possessions, and which gave it a footing in a distant part of Germany; he therefore encouraged the Landgrave to take up arms, and secretly

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The Duke of Würtemberg recovers his states :

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supplied him with large sums of money. These sums he employed to raise troops, and marching with great expedition towards the disputed duchy, attacked, defeated, and dispersed the Austrians, that had been left for its defence, long before the archduke was aware of his being in the field.

And is favourably
received by his sub-
jects.

The Duke of Würtemberg was received with open arms by his subjects, and restored to that authority, which his descendants, as kings, now enjoy; the Protestant religion was established in his dominions, and the Austrian authorities banished from the duchy. Ferdinand felt the blow his power had received, but as he durst not attack a prince whom all the Protestants were ready to support, he was obliged from necessity, rather than choice, to enter into a treaty of peace with the newly-restored duke, and to acknowledge his title in the most ample form.

The success of the Landgrave's operations had taught the King of the Romans, that a rupture with a league so formidable as that of Schmalcalde, was to be avoided with the greatest care. He therefore entered into a negotiation with the Elector of Saxony, and by some concessions in favour of the Protestant religion, and a grant of

some investitures to the Elector himself, prevailed upon him, with the other princes of the league, to acknowledge his title as King of the Romans.

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These acts of indulgence towards the Protestants, and Ferdinand's close union with them, gave great offence at Rome. But though Paul III., who had succeeded Clement VII., was no less enraged than Clement had been at the innovations in Germany, and no less averse to any scheme for reforming either the doctrines of the church, or the abuses in his court, he flattered himself that so many difficulties would occur, concerning the time and place of meeting, and the persons that ought to be present at a general council, that they would effectually defeat the intentions of those who demanded it. He therefore entered with seeming alacrity into the measure, and despatched his nuncios to the several courts of Europe, to announce his views, and to inform them that he had fixed on Mantua, as a proper place in which to hold the council.

The Pope irritated
at the success of the
Protestants :

Charles sent Heldo, his Vice-chancellor, with Rangoni, the Pope's Nuncio, to Schmalkalde, where they presented the bull of his holiness, for the convocation of a general council. The

His bull examined
by the protestant
divines :

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Protestants transmitted it to their divines for examination, and as had been foreseen, it became the subject of many a long and keen debate, and ended in the publication of a manifesto, by which the Pope declared, that the conditions insisted upon were contrary to ancient usage, insulting to the dignity of the Holy See, and hostile to the liberty of the church; and as he never could acquiesce in them, he had abandoned the design of holding a council at Mantua.

Private arrangement made by the Princes of Luneburg, A.D. 1537.

About this period, Francis, the younger brother of Ernest of Luneburg, came of age; but instead of lessening his brother's influence, or interfering with his authority, he accepted of the small territory of Gifforn, and allowed the general management of the duchy to remain in the hands of him who had proved himself so worthy of possessing it.

A.D. 1538.

Towards the end of 1538, the King of Poland, and the Prince of Transylvania communicated to the states of Germany an account of the great preparations the Emperor Solyman was making for an invasion of the kingdom of Hungary, with the evident intention of passing from thence into Germany; and anxiously implored the Emperor and King of the Romans to

call a diet of the empire, that measures might be taken to meet these formidable preparations.

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Charles, at their entreaty, ordered letters patent to be issued, convoking the states at Frankfort, in the month of February, and the diet which met agreeable to his appointment, was attended by most of the Protestant princes in person. The Catholics only sent their deputies, and Charles sent as his commissary, John Vese, a man fertile in expedients, versed in political intrigue, and one whose intentions it was not easy to discover. He was a native of Germany, and notwithstanding that he was a Catholic, he was a man whom the Protestants rather respected. His merit alone had raised him to the rank of a privy-councillor of the Emperor and King of the Romans; and he enjoyed the revenues of the rich bishoprick of Constance, without having entered into holy orders.

A diet meets at
Frankfort:

The members continued in deliberation for more than two months, and then decreed, that the emperor should grant to the Protestants a truce for fifteen months, in order that he might be better instructed on the points that concerned religion. That the agreement of Nuremburg, and the imperial edict of Ratis-

The articles agreed
upon in that diet:

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bon, should remain entire, and continue to have effect, and that they should be confirmed. That in the event of not being able to come to an arrangement respecting the establishment of religion in their states, during this truce, the peace which it established should not be interrupted, until after the first general diet of the empire ; and that, during its existence, all proceedings against the Protestants, whether instituted in the imperial chamber, or in any other court, should be annulled. It was further decided, that all sentences already passed should not be allowed to take effect ; that justice should be rendered to all parties, without reference to their religious sentiments, and during the existence of the truce, that the Protestants should not receive any prince, state, or city into their confederation : that they should permit the Catholic clergy to enjoy the fruits of the revenues of which they were in possession ; and under the good pleasure of the emperor, a day should be named, for the Protestants and Catholics to meet at Nuremberg, to settle the affairs of religion. That in the proposed assembly the Pope should have no legate ; but that the Emperor and King of

the Romans might send their ambassadors, to report to the absent states the decision of those present ; and that the decision of the meeting should be confirmed by the emperor and the king ; or, in their absence, by their ambassadors.

During the truce, all parties consented to abstain from warlike preparations, but if any member of the contracting parties was obliged to arm, he was to state to the others the cause of his doing so, in order that they might be prepared for their own defence and to defend the liberties of the empire. Neither Anabaptists nor Sacramentalists were to be comprehended in the treaty ; and both Protestants and Catholics, engaged to hold their contingents in readiness for the war against the Turks ; and on or before the 18th of May, in obedience to the orders of his imperial majesty, to send ambassadors to Worms, to deliberate on the best manner of carrying on that war.

The diet on separating agreed, that the emperor in courtesy, should be allowed six months, from the 1st of May, to ratify the treaty they had decreed ; but if his intentions were not declared before that period had expired, the treaty of Nuremburg was to be taken as in

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BOOK IX. force, and acted upon, as it had previously
 been.

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Transmitted to the
 emperor:

His embarrassment,
 and decision.

The emperor was in Spain when the decree passed, but copies of it were sent to him, one over-land, and another by sea, and when he received them, he felt very much embarrassed how to act. If he disapproved of the terms altogether, it would be necessary to proceed to Germany, to counteract, by his presence, the disorders that might ensue, and this at a time when the peculiar state of his affairs in Spain made it inconvenient for him to do so: on the other hand, if he confirmed this treaty, he ran a risk of losing the little authority he still possessed in the empire, and certainly had no chance of regaining that which the Lutherans had taken from him. To avoid both these extremes, he resolved to give no explanation whatever, and the death of the empress afforded him a fair pretence for maintaining silence. Though the treaty of Frankfort was never ratified by Charles, it was observed with some degree of exactness.

During the period that Heldo, the emperor's vice-chancellor, resided in Germany, he had remarked the influence which the Protestants had

obtained by their strict union, and, in order to counteract that influence, he had secretly negotiated a treaty with the Catholic princes, by which he bound them to unite also, in their own defence, and in the support of the church of Rome. This afterwards came to be known as the Holy League, and was the source of much alarm to the Schmalkalde association, whose party, however, became greatly strengthened about this time by the death of Duke George, the head of the Albertine, or younger branch of the house of Saxony; a decided enemy of the Reformation from its very commencement. His brother Henry and his nephew were both Protestants; and, although he had made it a condition in his will that his successor should conform to the Catholic religion, under pain of being disinherited, Henry took possession, under the sanction of the Schmalkalde union, and had no sooner done so, than he invited Luther to Leipsic. By his advice and the assistance of other divines, he overturned, in a few weeks, the whole system of the ancient church, and established the full exercise of the reformed religion throughout Saxony, to the universal satisfaction of his new subjects. The

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The Schmalkalde
union gain the Duke
of Saxony.

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Great extent of the
Protestant states.

Saxons had long wished for such a change, but had been hitherto overawed by the authority of their duke. This revolution, therefore, not only delivered the Protestants from the danger to which they were exposed, by having an inveterate enemy within the bosom of their territory, but gave the princes and cities attached to their cause, possession of an uninterrupted range of country, that extended in one great and almost unbroken chain from the shores of the Baltic to the banks of the Rhine.

The Protestants, still desirous of a durable peace, sent an embassy to the emperor, while he was detained in the Low Countries, by a revolt in the city of Ghent, to ask him to grant a conference to the divines of both parties, according to one of the articles in the treaty of Frankfort.

Charles received their embassy with apparent favour, yet his answers were so much enveloped in mystery, and so ambiguous, that they had every reason to doubt of his sincerity. But the Cardinal Granville, who had succeeded to the confidence of the emperor on the dismissal of Heldo, persuaded him, that it was for his advantage to give peace to the Protestants;

and, with that view, two able ministers were despatched to the diet at Schmalkalde.

BOOK IX.

A.D. 1540.

The Cardinal Farnese, the Pope's legate at the court of the emperor, no sooner discovered that Charles and his ministers were serious in their endeavours to secure a peace with the Protestants, than he opposed it with all his might. He represented to them, that, from the first assembly held at Augsburg, to the present moment, though ten years had elapsed, they had never been able to effect any thing satisfactory; and, even supposing they should find out some mode of accommodation, he maintained that it must fail, as the Lutherans were in the habit of changing their opinions every day, and never could fix on any settled point of doctrine. It was not now a reformation of morals that they required of the Catholic clergy—it was their extinction; and they aimed at nothing less than the total destruction of the Holy See, and the overturning of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He added, that the war, with which the Turks threatened Europe, ought to lead them to an agreement in points of religion; but that nothing could accomplish this except a general

The Pope's legate remonstrates against any peace with the Protestants:

BOOK IX.

A.D. 1540.

council; for whatever decisions were come to in a particular diet, or in a national assembly, would be contested by those who were absent; that in all religious discussions regard ought to be had to the nations of France, Spain, and Italy, as well as to Germany, as the empire could not separate herself from these nations without danger to her safety. It had been the custom, he said, from the time of the apostles, to settle all points relating to Christianity in a general council of the Christian church; and such a meeting was now called for by all the kings and princes of Europe. It would not be difficult to effect a peace between the emperor and the king of France, and, if that was done, a council could meet immediately; but, in the mean time, he insisted that they ought to strengthen the league which had been formed in the empire, in order that they might intimidate the Protestants, and oblige them to consent to the meeting of a council, and join in the war against the Turks.

The Emperor pays
no attention to his
remonstrance.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the emperor continued firm in his resolution to adopt conciliatory measures: he agreed to a meeting of divines, and as soon as he had settled

his affairs in the Low Countries, repaired to Ratisbon, where he found a large assembly of the princes of the empire, with a legate from the Pope, and a chosen party of the clergy of both religions.

BOOK IX.

A.D. 1541.

We have entered, perhaps, more into the general history of these times than is consistent with the unity of our annals; but as the details were so very much interwoven with the history of the house of Brunswick, they could not well be avoided. We return now, however, to the family records.

The Catholics, aware of the influence which Ernest of Luneburg possessed in the diet of the confederates at Schmalkalde, had selected his cousin Henry, Duke of Wolfenbuttel, as the commander of their troops, and had furnished him with instructions to prevent the spread of the pernicious doctrines within the sphere of his jurisdiction. Philip of Grubenhagen, the head of the family; Ernest of Luneburg; his brothers Otho and Francis, and George, the younger brother of the Duke of Wolfenbuttel, had all embraced the reformed doctrines, and had proved themselves steady supporters of the cause of truth. But this Henry, the reigning

Henry of Brunswick made general of the Catholic league:

BOOK IX.

A.D. 1541.

duke; his cousin Erick, Duke of Brunswick Calemberg; and his brothers, Christopher and Francis (both bishops), had continued to maintain the ancient faith; and it was no doubt with a view of augmenting this division, which unfortunately existed in the family of Brunswick, that the Catholics fixed upon Henry as their general.

A.D. 1542.

In 1542 the city of Goslar (one of those that had joined the Protestant union) was put under the imperial ban, for having burnt a convent situated within its walls; and the execution of that ban was intrusted to the

Besieges the city of
Goslar:

Duke of Wolfenbittel. Henry collected his troops, and marched them against the proscribed city; but before it was necessary to commence hostilities, the citizens had humbled themselves, and were forgiven by the emperor. The duke, however, was too well acquainted with the feelings of his party to pay any attention to that pardon, or to the public orders of the king of the Romans; and, therefore, continued to harass the city, and to lay waste the country inhabited by the Protestants in its neighbourhood. When his conduct was represented to the princes of the union, they

BOOK IX.

A.D. 1542.

complained loudly to the assembly which was sitting at Spires, and orders were issued by that body for all parties to live in peace. But as Henry, notwithstanding those orders, still continued his ravages, the Elector of Saxony, Ernest of Luneburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse, were obliged to arm in defence of the Protestants of Goslar. They got together about twenty-two thousand men, and before he was well aware of their approach, had entered his duchy with a force so greatly superior to that under his command, that he was obliged to retreat. "He contrived," says the chronicle, "to throw a strong garrison into his capital, which gave such courage to the citizens, that, when the confederates invested it, and summoned them to surrender, they desired that their messenger might call again on the same errand in two or three years; and, to shew their contempt for the numbers that surrounded them, placed a musician in the tower of one of their churches, and made him play during the bombardment a popular air, which at that time was considered most insulting to the Protestants."

The besiegers, irritated by these insults,

BOOK IX.

A.D. 1542.

Is beaten by the
Protestants :

directed their cannon against the tower, and soon brought it to the ground ; and the confusion which that accident caused had such an effect upon the spirits of the besieged, that they immediately hoisted the white flag. They were allowed to capitulate upon very severe terms ; and Henry, being without further resources, was obliged to retire to the court of Bavaria.

His treachery discovered:

In examining the castle of Wolfenbittel, after taking possession, the confederates found many papers which confirmed them in their suspicions of the deep designs of the Catholic league. Henry himself had long been looked upon as a most dangerous enemy to the Reformation ; but it was now found that, during a visit he had made to the emperor in Spain, in 1539, he had accused the whole of the princes that were favourers of Luther, of a design to overturn the German constitution, and to dethrone the sovereign. He had also been active in sending emissaries into the countries occupied by the Protestants, and many towns and villages had been set on fire and burnt down by these emissaries.

The senate of Goslar were put in possession

of the places which the duke had taken from them, and the individuals that had suffered from his tyranny were reimbursed for their losses, from his particular funds. The Protestant religion was established throughout his dominions, and the government of the country intrusted to the Duke of Luneburg, as the prince most interested in the preservation of the independence and integrity of these states.

BOOK IX.

A.D. 1542.

Henry remained in exile for some time ; but having, with the aid of the Catholic princes, recruited a considerable force, he returned to his dominions in 1545, and having gained possession of several strong places, laid siege to Wolfenbittel, which was still garrisoned by the troops of the Protestant league, under Ernest of Luneburg.

A.D. 1545.

The Landgrave of Hesse and his son-in-law Maurice, now Duke of Saxony, hastened to the aid of the Duke of Luneburg ; and Henry, finding himself in danger of being surrounded by their united force, raised the siege with great precipitation, and commenced a retreat. But he found that the enemy were so close upon his rear, that it was impossible to escape without coming to an engagement. The Duke

BOOK IX.

A.D. 1545.

of Saxony was anxious to prevent the effusion of blood, and he prevailed upon the troops to abstain from hostilities for twenty-four hours, whilst he went from the one army to the other, in hopes of getting their leaders to submit to terms of peace. But the Duke of Wolfenbittel, notwithstanding the disadvantages of his situation, rejected the terms that were offered, and insisted that his dominions should be restored to him without any restrictions. The Landgrave of Hesse, on the other hand, required that he should first give a promise and proper security not to molest the Protestants; and that he should surrender himself to the Duke of Saxony, and abide by that prince's award in all that concerned the expenses of the war, and the injury he had done to the city of Goslar and its adherents.

These terms were absolutely rejected, and the Landgrave accordingly made every arrangement for securing the victory. He detached, during the night, a strong body of horse with some cannon to a defile near Henry's camp, and at break of day the remainder of the army advanced upon his entrenchments. A sharp cannonade commenced, which did considerable

execution; when Henry, seeing the great superiority of his enemies, sent a flag of truce to announce his readiness to agree to the terms that had formerly been offered to him. The Landgrave returned for answer, that it was too late, and that he and his eldest son, Charles Victor, must surrender themselves prisoners immediately and unconditionally, or the action would be continued. These terms, though hard, were acceded to: the two princes were conducted to the head-quarters of the Landgrave, and immediately sent off, under a strong escort, to the fortress of Ziegenhayn, in Hesse; and Ernest of Luneburg was continued in the administration of the territories of Wolfenbuttel.

The emperor had hitherto tampered with the Protestants, to forward his own particular views; but he began now to throw off the mask. A diet was ordered to meet at Augsburg, which few of the Protestant princes attended, and directions were issued for a levy of troops in all the states of the empire. When Charles was questioned with regard to these unusual preparations, answers so vague were returned, that the princes became alarmed

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A.D. 1545.

Is beaten a second time, and made prisoner.

The emperor begins to alter his tone:

A.D. 1546.

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A.D. 1543.

The Protestants
publish a mani-
festo.

for their safety ; and, that they might be prepared to act on the defensive, began to levy troops also ; but that their motives might not be misconstrued, they published a manifesto, setting forth the reasons which compelled them to act as they were doing. Their declaration greatly incensed the emperor, and at once he declared that it was time to compel these disturbers of the public tranquillity to return to reason. They had not been content, he said, with attacking the Duke of Brunswick, contrary to his express command, but they had presumed to retain him a prisoner, while the cities of Goslar, Brunswick, Hanover, and others, stimulated by their example, had sent out their inhabitants to ravage his country and destroy his capital. These civil wars had been suffered to exist by far too long, and Charles informed them that he was determined for the future to make use of the resources which God had placed at his disposal, to maintain his authority and support his rights.

This open avowal of his intentions had little effect upon the confederate princes. They replied, that it was no longer necessary to speak of a war of religion ;—that if Charles,

as he alleged, took up arms to punish some rebellious subjects, it was only done as a pretext for disuniting the confederates, whose great object it had ever been to secure the liberties of the empire.

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A.D. 1546.

“ If Charles the Fifth,” said they, “ gains the object he has in view, the constitution of the empire will be destroyed for ever;—if the most solemn treaties are to be abolished by the sword, and the voice of one man is to control the whole empire—what then has become of the boasted freedom of the Germanic states, and the constitutional laws of the German empire?”

The Landgrave of Hesse asserted, that in as far as regarded the affairs of the Duke of Brunswick, he had always been ready to justify his conduct;—that he had only opposed force to force, in defence of public right against flagrant injustice; and that it had been discovered that the king of the Romans, while publicly exhorting Henry to lay down his arms, had been privately advising him to continue hostilities;—thus pursuing a system of deception and bad faith throughout the whole affair, which made it his bounden duty to check the

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ravages of such a disturber of the peace of Germany.

“If,” continues his manifesto, “it is imputed to the confederates as a crime, that they have corresponded with their allies, let it be shewn that they have solicited them to act contrary to the laws of the empire, or in opposition to its chief ruler; but if, on the contrary, they have only called upon them to arm in defence of their just rights, in what manner can their having done so be construed into treason?”

The Emperor continues to prepare for war :

The emperor had determined on something more decisive than a war of words, and continued his preparations with great diligence; but notwithstanding his exertions, the Protestants were first in the field. The Duke of Wurtemberg, and several of the free cities, united their forces in the neighbourhood of Ulm; the Landgrave of Hesse engaged a large body of mercenaries that had been disbanded by the King of France, in consequence of the peace with England: and the Elector of Saxony, with his brother, John Ernest, and his son, John Frederick; Philip, Duke of Brunswick Grubenhagen, with his four sons, Ernest, Albert, Wolfgang, and Philip; the princes of

The Protestants do the same :

Anhalt, Christopher, Prince of Henneberg, George, brother to the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Count of Mansfeldt, and his two sons; the Count of Wittengen, the Count of Furstemberg, the Count of Oldenburgh, the Counts of Reichingen and Herdeck, with many nobles of lesser note, all exerted themselves in raising troops, and marched with them to the Protestant head-quarters. Seven regiments of Swiss infantry were also engaged, and the Protestant forces made rather a formidable array.

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Their army considerable;

Those in Upper Germany were put under the orders of the Landgrave of Hesse, while all the other corps acknowledged the Elector of Saxony as their general; but, as these corps were divided into two armies, the latter had under him, as his lieutenant-generals, the Count of Schomberg, and Theodoric Tauben.

But not united.

The princes of the House of Brandenburg, zealous converts to the reformed religion, and Maurice, Duke of Saxony, also a strict Protestant, joined the emperor's army with their forces. Yet, the number of their troops, and the amazing rapidity with which the

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confederates had collected them, greatly astonished the emperor and his ministers, and filled him with the most disquieting apprehensions. Had there been any thing like a perfect union among those who had abjured the rites of popery, he would have had more cause for alarm. But the defection of the Brandenburg family paralyzed the north, and Maurice in a great measure neutralized Saxony: while Brunswick, from accidental causes, was rendered altogether inefficient. The head of the Catholic branch of that house was a prisoner in the hands of the Elector of Hesse; and Ernest of Luneburg, the most distinguished of the Protestant leaders, was unable to take the field himself, and his sons were of too tender an age to supply his place. Great anxiety and constant exertion had undermined his constitution, and though only in his forty-ninth year, he found that his days were drawing to a close. He was, therefore, obliged to remain at home, and to send his troops, under the banner of his cousin and godson, Ernest of Grubenhagen, the eldest surviving son of Duke Philip; and, as he died at the very commencement of the war, we shall, before we proceed further with

our general remarks, state all that remains to be told of the history of this prince.

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Ernest was more frequently designated of Celle, and *the Confessor*, than Duke of Brunswick or Luneburg. He was born at Luneburg, on the 26th of January, 1497; his mother was the daughter of Ernest, and the sister of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony.

Private annals of
Ernest the confessor;

While yet a child he was sent to the court of his uncle, and placed, as a student, in the newly-established university at Wittenburg; and as Luther superintended his education from its very commencement, we may naturally suppose that he was perfectly acquainted with the sentiments and views of that great apostle of the Reformation; and that, having never known any other doctrine, he was free from all those doubts and difficulties which must ever cling to a convert. The voice of detraction could never assail him, and he felt not that spirit of enmity, or persecution, which animated too many of those that had conformed to the new faith. In the cause of truth, he was bold and indefatigable; but in the cause of justice, it mattered not to what party they belonged, he would support the injured, whether Catholic or Protestant, and so

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His character.

strictly just was he in all his actions, and so mild in his manners, that he was as much beloved by the Catholics in his dominions, as he was by those of his own faith ; and even the catholic writers of his day, allow him to have been a *pious, steady* and *valiant* prince. When he assumed the direction of the affairs of the church in his own dominions, he gave no order for any general conformity to those sentiments which he, as their prince, had adopted. He only furnished the scriptures to such as could read ; and established schools for the instruction of the young, and then left it to the good sense of the clergy, over whose conduct and manners he kept a strict watch, to abolish, gradually, the most absurd of those ceremonies which had crept into the service of the church. The ministers that conformed to the doctrines of Luther, were confirmed in their parishes, and allowed to enjoy their revenues without any change, and in order that his clergy might retain their respectability and influence, they were still exempted from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, and only tried by their own body, or in the ducal chamber of appeal. He married in 1528, Sophia, the daughter of

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Henry, Duke of Mecklenburg; and being blessed with a family of ten children, he superintended, personally, the progress of their education, and had them instructed by some of the most learned men of the age. The exertion of body and mind which he had undergone during the last few years had been very great. He had long known the hollow pretensions to moderation in the emperor and his party; and viewing the gathering storm with fearful forebodings, had exerted himself to prepare for the worst, but the fatigue was too severe for a constitution originally delicate. Nothing can more evidently shew his own feelings, than the device he had chosen for his private seal; a burning candle, with the motto, "*Aliis inserviando meipsum consumo*," (by serving others, I destroy myself,) and his family and his party soon discovered, that it was too true an anticipation of his untimely end.

While the din of war was heard from one end of the continent to the other, and Catholics and Protestants were eagerly preparing to meet on the bloody field, the master-spirit, which had so long directed the counsels of the Schmalkalde union, was confined to a bed of

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And death.

sickness, from which he never arose. He died on the 11th of January, 1546-7, and was buried behind the altar, in the principal church of Celle, where his effigy, cut in stone, is still to be seen, with the following motto engraved on the pedestal:—

Anno a virginis salutifero partu. MDXLVI
ætatis suæ XLIX die vero XI mensis Ja-
nuarii in Deo pie obiit illustrissimus Prin-
ceps ac Dominus Dms ERNESTUS, Bruns-
vicensium Luneburgensiumque Dux inclytus;
cujus anima in Christo salvatore suo suavis-
sime quiescit.

By the princess Sophia, he left four sons and six daughters; of his sons we shall have to treat hereafter, and respecting his daughters, we can only stop to mention, that Margaret the eldest, married John, Count of Mansfeldt, Elizabeth married Otho, Count of Schaumberg, Madalene, a Count of Bentheim, and Sophia, a Count of Henneberg; the last, named Catherine, died young.

History of the Em-
peror's proceedings
resumed:

The emperor, though placed in a perilous situation, was as inflexible as if his affairs had been in the most prosperous state; the only reply which he deigned to make to the manifesto of the Protestants, was the promulgation

of the ban of the empire, against the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and all that should dare to aid or assist them in their rebellious proceedings. By this sentence, the ultimate and most rigorous, which the German jurisprudence has provided for the punishment of traitors, the Protestants were declared rebels and outlaws, and deprived of every privilege, which they enjoyed as members of the Germanic body ; their goods were confiscated ; their subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance ; and it was considered not only lawful but meritorious, to invade and destroy their territories.

According to the constitution of the empire, the authority of a diet was required to sanction such a proceeding ; but Charles overlooked this formality, well knowing that if his arms were successful, there would be none that had either the power or the courage to call in question this exercise of his authority.

The confederates, satisfied that all prospect of accommodation was for ever at an end, had only to choose between unconditional submission, or open hostilities ; and accordingly, the very day after the ban was declared, they sent a

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Hostilities
mence.

com-

herald to the imperial camp, with a formal declaration of war against Charles, to whom they no longer gave any other title than that of pretended Emperor; and renounced all allegiance, homage, or duty, which they had hitherto yielded him. But previous even to this formality, a part of their troops had begun to act. The contingent which the Pope had agreed to send to the assistance of the emperor, was marching towards the Tyrol, in order to penetrate into Germany, by a narrow pass in the mountains which intersect that country, and upon receiving information of this march, Sebastian Schertel, a veteran soldier of fortune, who had the command of the troops raised by the city of Augsburg, hastened thither, and seized upon the castles of Ehrenberg and Cuffstein, which commanded the principal defiles. In these he placed a strong garrison, and without stopping a moment, continued his march towards Inspruck. Had he got possession of that city, the Italians must have stopt short, as, with a small body of men, he could have defied the efforts of the greatest armies. But the Governor of Trent, knowing what a fatal blow this would be to the emperor, (whose

designs must have utterly failed had these Italian auxiliaries been intercepted,) raised a few troops, and with the utmost expedition, threw himself into the town. These troops prevented the place from being taken by surprise, and though Schertel did not altogether abandon his enterprise, but prepared to attack it in regular form, the approach of the Italian army, and orders from the Elector and Landgrave, obliged him to desist. His retreat therefore, left the passes open, and the auxiliaries, continuing their march, entered Germany without any further opposition, than what they met with from the detached garrisons of Ehrenberg and Cuffstein; but as these garrisons were now left without any hopes of support, they very soon surrendered.

The recalling of Schertel was the first error which the confederates were guilty of, but it was not their last. The Schmalkalde union committed one still greater, in nominating two generals in chief, whose equal power and co-ordinate authority were of fatal consequence, in a war that required such promptitude of action, and quickness in decision. The Elector, though intrepid in his own person, and zealously devoted to the

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Mistake committed
by the Protestant
leaders:

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cause in which he had engaged, was slow in deliberating, uncertain and irresolute in his determinations, and constantly preferred measures that were cautious and safe, to such as were bold and decisive.

The Landgrave again, of a more bold and active nature, having formed his resolutions, wished to execute them with spirit; and uniformly preferred such arrangements as would tend to bring the contest to a speedy issue. Their maxims therefore, in regard to the conduct of the war, differed as widely as those by which they were influenced in preparing for it. Such perpetual contrariety in their sentiments and opinions, gave rise at last to jealousy and a spirit of contention; while the other princes, considering themselves in some measure independent of both, ceased to have that respect for their commands, which was absolutely necessary to secure an union of action in a body of troops, composed of so many, and such dissimilar members. They had several opportunities of attacking the emperor with advantage, but that advantage was not followed up.

Their dispersions:

In one partial action, near Giengen, Albert,

the second son of Philip of Grubenhagen, lost his life, and he was the only prince that fell in the short campaign. As the winter approached, the dissensions in the army increased, and the elector being called upon to support his own states, then almost wholly subdued by his cousin Maurice, the confederates agreed to break up their army. Luckily for them, the state of Italy, and the intrigues of the French king, prevented Charles from taking any advantage of this separation. The Elector regained possession of his hereditary states, drove Maurice out of the country, and retaliated upon his territories. But the death of Francis I., and the suppression of the troubles in the south, afforded Charles an interval of security, which he, not knowing how long it might continue, was determined to improve. He left Egra, on the confines of Bohemia, with an army, which after the departure of the papal troops, and the retreat of the Flemings, did not amount to more than sixteen thousand men ; but they were all distinguished veterans, and although the event of his expedition was to decide what degree of authority he was for the future to possess in Germany, he well knew that in trusting to

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Circumstances in
their favour.

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A.D. 1546.Charles advances
upon Saxony:

them, he did not commit much to chance. Guided by the advice of his ally the Duke of Saxony, he directed his march upon the Electorate, where John Frederick still remained with the greater part of the confederate force, and where he had been joined by Ernest, the eldest son of the Duke of Grubenhagen, and a large contingent from the states of Luneburg. His force was greatly superior to that of the Emperor, but with a fatality which seems to have attended every action in the life of this otherwise great and good prince, he deprived himself of all the advantage he might have derived from his superiority of numbers, by detaching a large body of troops towards the frontiers of Bohemia, while he dispersed what remained, into such parts of Saxony, as he thought it probable the Emperor would first make an impression upon.

Charles entered the southern frontier of the Electorate, where the garrisons in the open towns, either surrendered or fled at his approach, and he reached the banks of the Elbe, without ever having met with the slightest opposition. As the danger drew near, the Elector seemed to become less certain in his move-

ments, and even more undetermined how he should act.

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Instead of listening to the counsel of the Duke of Brunswick and others, who advised that he should retire under the walls of Wittemberg, and await the reinforcements expected from Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and the confederated cities on the Baltic, he destroyed the bridge at Meissen, and marched along the banks of the Elbe to Muhlberg, where having the river between him and the enemy, he thought himself in safety.

The Elector retreats.

Charles arrived opposite this position on the evening of the 23rd of April, and immediately gave orders to form a passage over the river. Under cover of the Spanish musketry, a bridge of boats was constructed, for the passage of his infantry, while a peasant, in revenge for some injury done by the Elector's troops, undertook to conduct the cavalry to a part, where the river was fordable. The Elector had committed another mistake, in retiring from the banks of the river with the main body of his army, and Charles crossed at the head of his cavalry, without being opposed at all, while ten Spanish infantry, that swam across the stream,

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with their swords in their teeth, not only dispersed the guard left for the protection of some boats at Muhlberg, but actually ferried over these boats, to complete their bridge of communication. During all this time, John Frederick and his army remained inactive in their camp. Being at last convinced, by the retreat of his detached parties, of this his fatal mistake, he gave orders for retreating towards Wittemberg. But it was too late;—the light troops of the enemy were already in view, and an action was unavoidable. When driven to this extremity, he who was as bold in action, as he was irresolute in decision, made his dispositions for battle with great presence of mind, and took advantage of every portion of the ground on which he was placed. The Emperor arranged his men in order, as they came up, and riding along their ranks, exhorted them to do their duty.

The battle of Muhl-
berg:

The morning was cloudy and dark, which had greatly facilitated the advance of the enemy's troops; but at the moment both armies were prepared to engage, it suddenly cleared up, and they stood exposed to the view of each other. This accidental circumstance made a very dif-

ferent impression upon the minds of each. The Saxons felt depressed, while the Imperialists considered it as a certain presage of victory. The valour, activity, and presence of mind of the Elector, his personal courage, and that of the princes attached to his person, made victory doubtful for a while; but the Saxons could not stand before the Spanish men at arms, led on as they were by experienced officers, the élite of the imperial army, and who fought under the eye of the Emperor: they began to give way, and the light troops rallying, soon fell upon their flanks. The flight became general; a small body of chosen soldiers, commanded by Ernest of Grubenhagen, among whom the Elector had fought in person, still continued together, and endeavoured to save their general, by retiring into the forest; but being surrounded on every side, and their numbers, notwithstanding their valour, decreasing rapidly, and the Elector himself wounded in the face, and exhausted with fatigue, perceiving all further resistance vain, directed the Duke of Brunswick to lay down his arms. These princes surrendered themselves prisoners, and were conducted to the Emperor, who was standing in the middle of his

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The Elector taken
prisoner:

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field of battle, exulting in his success, and receiving the congratulations of his officers upon a victory gained by his valour and conduct. They delivered up their swords to him in person.

Charles halted for two days to refresh his troops after this battle, and then moved towards Wittemberg, the capital of the Electorate, that by the conquest of this city, he might terminate the war at once. The Elector and Duke of Brunswick were carried along with him, in a sort of triumph, and exposed everywhere as captives to their own subjects; but these insults had little effect upon their undaunted spirits, and they bore the whole of their disgrace with the utmost composure of mind.

The strength and situation of Wittemberg rendered its reduction a matter of great difficulty, and some danger; and as the Emperor despaired of being able to subdue it by force, he attempted to get possession of it by stratagem. He announced to the Electress Sybilla, that if the gates were not opened, the Elector should answer with his head for her obstinacy, and to convince her that this was not an empty threat, he had a court-martial summoned, at

which the sanguinary Duke of Alva presided, and John Frederick, in terms of the imperial ban, being convicted of treason and rebellion, was condemned to death. This sentence was pronounced on the 12th of May, and intimated that same day to the Elector, who at the time the president entered his prison, was amusing himself with his friend and fellow-prisoner, Ernest of Grubenhagen, by playing a game of chess.—When the sentence was read to him, he stopped for a moment, but without discovering either surprise or terror, he said to Ernest, “ It is easy to comprehend this scheme ; but what does Charles expect to gain by these cruel artifices. My life is only attacked, that he may gain possession of my capital ; would to God that this iniquitous sentence could make as little impression upon my wife, my children, and my friends, as it does upon me ! All that they may yield to the enemy will be a loss to them, and of no advantage whatever to me. They will only prolong the life of an old man for a few days, and for whom it would be much happier to perish by a sudden death, than to live and see the misery to which they must be reduced. Nevertheless,” he continued, “ I

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And condemned to death :

His heroic conduct :

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shall not put my sentiments in opposition to their feelings, only, in treating for me, let them attend to themselves, and not blindly subscribe to any improper arrangement." Then turning to the board, he continued the game, and having won it, seemed quite overjoyed with his success.

He is deprived of
the Electorate.

The Landgrave of Hesse was not with the Elector at the battle of Muhlberg, and had still the command of an unbroken force; but the Elector, moved by the tears of a wife whom he loved, could not resist the entreaties of his family, and in compliance with their solicitations, he submitted to terms of accommodation, which he would otherwise have rejected with disdain. The first article in the treaty which he was called upon to sign, obliged him to resign the electoral dignity into the hands of the Emperor, to be disposed of according to his pleasure. This was what his cousin Maurice had long struggled for; it had made him a traitor to his party, and an enemy to his religion. It had made him the foe of his kindred, the scourge of his country, and the destroyer of the rights and liberties of Germany. The other matters were

of little importance to him, though they comprehended the unconditional surrender of Wittemberg and Gotha, and the discharge of his prisoners without ransom. In return for these sacrifices, the sentence of the court-martial was remitted, and the city and territories of Gotha, with a pension of fifty thousand florins, (to be paid annually from the electorate, (were settled upon him and his posterity for ever. He was also to have a sum in ready money, to discharge the debts he had incurred as Elector of Saxony.

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As soon as the Saxon garrison had marched out of Wittemberg, the Emperor fulfilled his engagement to the ambitious Maurice, by putting him in possession of the Electoral states; and in the general consternation which followed these transactions, every independent member of the union was disposed to make the best terms he could for himself. The Landgrave was inclined to listen to the remonstrances of his successful son-in-law, who, on the one hand, had magnified the emperor's power, and on the other, held out his own interest with the monarch, as a certain means of obtaining for so near a relative the most favourable and advan-

Maurice is invested
with the electorate.

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tageous conditions. But when he saw that the ambition of Charles was neither to be restrained by any scruples of decency, or maxims of justice, he hesitated for a while, and notwithstanding the flattering promises of Maurice, judged it more prudent to trust for safety to his own arms, than to the generosity of one who had acted as he had done to the unfortunate Elector. This resolution, however, was not of long continuance; when he took a survey of the enemy's power, and reflected on his own weakness, he returned to a more accommodating frame of mind, and agreed to negotiate.

The Landgrave of Hesse makes peace with Charles.

The newly-made Elector, and the Elector of Brandenburg, acted as mediators between him and the Emperor; but the conditions prescribed to the Landgrave, were extremely rigorous; and withall the vaunted influence of Maurice, he was required to surrender his person and his territories to the Emperor,—to implore for pardon on his knees, and pay a hundred and fifty thousand crowns towards the expenses of the war; besides agreeing to destroy all the fortifications of his towns, except one, and even the garrison placed in that one, was to swear fidelity to the Emperor. All his artillery and

ammunition were to be delivered up, and above all, Henry, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, with his son, and the rest of the princes taken during the war, were to be released immediately, without ransom. The Landgrave ratified these articles with great reluctance; but as the Emperor had assumed the haughty tone of a conqueror, and insisted on unconditional submission, he had no remedy.

Fortunately for the cause of religion, and the liberties of Germany, the Emperor's ambition got the better of his prudence. When the Landgrave of Hesse went to the headquarters of Charles, to ratify the treaty, he was detained a prisoner, contrary to his stipulations with Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg, and it was this circumstance that alienated these princes from his interest, and in the end prevented the establishment of that absolute dominion, which he had seriously contemplated.

Though Maurice, to raise himself to that dignity which he had now attained, had acted a doubtful, and very unworthy part, he had still a regard for the rights and privileges of the empire, and, from perfect conviction, was steadily

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Maurice begins to
alter his conduct.

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attached to the doctrines of the Protestant church; he determined, therefore, not to remain a tame spectator of the destruction of the one, or the overthrow of the other, and this resolution, which had its origin in a love of liberty, and a zeal for religion, was soon strengthened by political and interested considerations.

A civil war with
Bremen:

During the time that Henry of Wolfenbuttel was detained a prisoner with the Landgrave, his brother Christopher, Archbishop of Bremen, had continued to harass the Protestants in the states under his jurisdiction. But the senate having embraced the reformed doctrines, he was not only shut out from his episcopal residence, but deprived in a great measure of the revenues of his see. In this distress, he applied for aid to his cousin Erick II., Duke of Calenberg, and that prince raised a considerable force, and had invested Bremen, about the time that the fatal battle of Muhlberg was fought. The city being hard pressed, applied for aid to Albert, Count of Mansfeldt, who hastened to its relief, and was joined by Christopher, Count of Oldenburg; and their united army was so considerable, that Erick was obliged to raise the siege, and hasten to the defence of his own territory,

which they had invaded. In his retreat, he was intercepted near Drackenburg, in the county of Hoya, and, contrary to his wishes, under the necessity of risking a battle. The victory was in favour of the Protestant princes, as they remained masters of the field, and got possession of the whole of the duke's artillery. But the Emperor was now in a condition to dictate terms to all these subordinate factions, and he immediately interfered, and commanded the city to refrain from hostilities, and to make the duke a proper compensation for the losses he had sustained, and the expenses he had incurred, in supporting the rights of his cousin the bishop.

Henry of Wolfenbuttel had no sooner obtained his liberty, and returned to his dominions, than he commenced legal proceedings in the imperial chamber, to compel the Landgrave and his adherents to render an account of their intromissions with his revenues, during the time he had been in confinement. This action, which was defended, led to much recrimination on both sides. Henry was accused of many and various crimes, which not only affected religion and good morals, but had been most prejudi-

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A.D. 1550.

Suppressed by orders from the Emperor.

Henry of Wolfenbuttel commences an action against the Landgrave of Hesse.

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cial to the peace of the empire; and it was therefore affirmed, that the Landgrave had been fully justified in acting as he had done. On the other hand, Henry vindicated his conduct, by denying these accusations, and imputing all the disorders that had occurred, to the conduct of the Landgrave and his party.

Story of his intrigue.

To shew how much the duke disregarded religion, and despised the rites of his own faith, the Protestants published a story, of his having taken into his keeping a young lady, one of his duchess's attendants, and to prevent their criminal intercourse from being discovered, caused a report to be spread of her death, and had a wooden block made, and interred with all the solemn ceremonies of the Catholic church: that, laughing at the success of this stratagem, he had paid, they asserted, the Franciscan monks to pray for her soul, thereby bringing a scandal upon all good Christians, and making a mockery of the very religion he professed. Their process occupied the attention of the imperial chamber for several years, during which, nothing of any moment occurred, connected with the annals of the House of Hanover.

But the period arrived when Maurice of Saxony, at the head of the Protestant forces, was compelled to take up arms against his late friend and ally, the victorious Charles; and when this took place, the Emperor soon found that he was more equally matched than he had formerly been, and that Maurice, backed by the King of France, (Henry II.,) and not opposed by the Pope, was in a condition to cause him much trouble.

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A.D. 1551.

Maurice of Saxony takes the field against the Emperor:

Maurice, no less bold and enterprising in the field, than crafty and cautious in the cabinet, advanced at once towards Upper Germany, where all the towns that lay in his line of march opened their gates, and received him as the saviour of the country. In these he restored the magistrates that had been deposed, and gave possession of the churches to the Protestants, whom the Emperor had ejected. His march was then directed more immediately upon Augsburg, where the imperial garrison was too weak to attempt its defence. It therefore retreated at his approach, and obtaining possession of that great city without firing a shot, he instantly carried into effect those reforms which he had made in the other towns.

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No words could express the Emperor's astonishment and consternation, at the rapidity of this march, and at events so unlooked for. His own negligence, or credulity, had left him entirely without the means of opposing so formidable an enemy; and in the situation in which he was placed, nothing remained, but to make an attempt to negotiate: but at the same time, thinking it inconsistent with his dignity, to make the first advances to subjects in arms against his lawful authority, he had recourse to the mediation of his brother Ferdinand.

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Maurice had sufficient confidence in his own talents, and knew that he could conduct the negotiation in such a manner as to derive advantage from it; while, by an appearance of facility in listening to the first overture of accommodation, he might amuse the Emperor, and tempt him to slacken the activity with which he was endeavouring to defend himself. He, therefore, most readily agreed to an interview with the king of the Romans; and, leaving his army to advance under the command of the Duke of Mecklenburg, he repaired to the town of Lintz, in Austria, the place agreed upon for their meeting. Mean-

Negotiates with Ferdinand:

while the king of France, faithful to his treaty with the Protestants, had also taken the field with a powerful army, and was rapidly advancing into Alsace.

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The conference at Lintz ended as was to be expected: Maurice, in agreeing to it, had only in view the amusement of Charles, and he made such demands as he knew would not be admitted, (for the Emperor was, as yet, too haughty to submit to terms dictated by a subject and an enemy :) but as the Elector still professed a strong desire to accommodate matters with his majesty, Ferdinand proposed a second meeting at Passau, on the 26th of May, and they agreed that a truce should commence on that day, and be continued to the 10th of June, to give them time to adjust all the points in dispute. Maurice returned to his army on the 9th of May, and found it at Gundelfingen. He put the troops in motion next morning, and, as sixteen days still remained before the truce would commence, he resolved to make the most of that time. He had fixed upon an enterprize which, if successful, would, he knew, be decisive, and not only render the conference at Passau extremely short, but

And they agree on a truce.

The Protestant army advances upon Inspruck:

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enable him to treat upon his own terms. He marched directly towards Inspruck, at the head of his army, and advanced with all the rapidity that so great a body of men could be brought to move in. On the 18th he arrived at Tiessen, a post at the entrance of the Tyrol, where he found a body of eight hundred men strongly entrenched; these he attacked, and with so much violence and impetuosity, that they instantly abandoned their position, and fell back upon a second body at Ruten, which, seized with the same panic, took to flight also, after a very feeble resistance.

Secures the passes
of the Tyrol.

Elated with this success, which far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of their general, the troops pushed on to Ehrenberg, a fortress situated on a high and steep precipice that commanded the only defile through the Tyrolese mountains. It was the same fortress which Schertel had surprized at the commencement of the Protestant war; but the Emperor had then been made sensible of its importance, and had placed in it a strong garrison of his best troops; it was, therefore, considered impregnable. A shepherd, however, pursuing a goat that had strayed from his flock,

discovered an unknown path, by which it was possible to ascend to the top of the rock that protected the castle. This path he made known to Maurice, and a small band of volunteers, under the command of George of Mecklenburg, was ordered to follow him up the narrow path. They left the camp in the evening, and clambering up the rugged rock, reached the summit, without being perceived; and, at a signal they had agreed upon, Maurice began the assault with his main army, when, to the surprise of the garrison, this detachment appeared on the mountain above, ready to scale the walls, at a part where, from having been deemed inaccessible, they were of moderate height, and scarcely defended. Astonished and panic-struck at the appearance of the enemy in a quarter which they had thought perfectly secure, the troops immediately threw down their arms; and Maurice, almost without bloodshed, and, what he considered of more consequence, without any loss of time, got possession of this place, which might have detained him long, and would have required the utmost efforts of his skill, and the greatest valour of his troops, to subdue. He was then within

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two days' march of the Emperor's head-quarters, and, without losing a moment, he ordered his infantry to advance upon that position, while he left his cavalry, which, from the nature of the country, had become unserviceable to guard the passes in the mountains. He was in hopes of reaching the city before the news of the loss of Ehrenberg could arrive, and thought to have surprized the Emperor and his attendants in that open town; but just as his army began to move, a battalion of his mercenaries mutinied, and declared they would not stir until they had received the gratuity which had become their due, on the capture of a place by assault.

This mutiny put a stop to his movements for a few hours, and it was to the delay occasioned by that trivial event that the Emperor owed his safety. Charles was informed of his danger late in the evening, and knowing that nothing could save him but a speedy flight, instantly left Inspruck, without regarding either the darkness of the night or the torrents of rain that fell at the time. He travelled, or, rather, was carried, in a litter across the Alps, and over roads almost impassable, and which his

Charles flies across
the Alps.

guides could only trace by the aid of torch-lights. His courtiers followed him in the utmost confusion, some on such horses as they could procure, others on foot, but all in the most pitiable condition, and without even a change of linen.

The Elector entered the city a few hours after Charles had left it; he pursued him for some miles, but perceiving it impossible to overtake him, returned, and abandoned all the baggage of the emperor and his ministers, to be plundered by his soldiers; while, on account of the friendship which existed between him and Ferdinand, he preserved the property of the latter untouched. And as only three days remained of the time that had been agreed upon for the commencement of the truce, Maurice immediately set out for Passau, that he might meet the king on the day appointed.

When Charles fled from Inspruck, he caused the guards to be withdrawn from the prison of the Elector, John Frederick, and sent a message to inform him that he was at liberty: but John, abhorring the thoughts of falling into the hands of that kinsman, whom he considered the author of all his misfortunes, chose rather to

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The deposed Elector
set at liberty.

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accompany the Emperor in his flight, than remain where he was.

We have now to observe, that when it became known at Trent (where the long-desired council of the church had been assembled for some time) that Maurice was in arms, the fathers in that assembly felt greatly perplexed, and knew not what to do. The German prelates had hastened home, that they might provide for the security of their own territories; and the rest also had shewn such a great impatience to be gone, that the legate, who had hitherto disappointed all the endeavours of the imperial ambassadors to procure a hearing for the Protestant divines, laid hold with joy of a pretext so plausible for dismissing an assembly which he had found it a most difficult matter to govern.

The council of Trent dissolved.

During the time that Maurice was employed in negotiating with Ferdinand, and that their armies were keeping each other at bay in the Tyrol, Albert of Brandenburg was intrusted with the command of a body of eight thousand men, chiefly mercenaries, that had resorted to his standard, rather from a hope of plunder than any expectation of regular pay; and when he found himself placed at the head

of such a number of desperate adventurers, ready to follow wherever he might lead them, he began to entertain such ideas of aggrandizing himself as seldom occur even to the most ambitious minds, unless in times of the greatest disorder, or amidst the ruins of some dismembered kingdom. He exacted, wherever he came, the most exorbitant contributions, in order to amass money, to enable him to keep his army together; and he laboured hard to get possession of Nuremburg or Ulm, or some of the most important of the free cities of Germany, that he might have a capital in which he could fix the seat of his power.

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Albert of Brandenburg commences a civil war:

It was evidently his success in securing the patrimony of the Teutonic knights, by his abjuration of the errors of popery, that made Albert thus aspire to greater things: but finding the cities he attempted to gain prepared to resist his attacks, he turned his rage against the popish bishops, and plundered their territories with such wanton and merciless barbarity, that both Protestants and Catholics became alarmed at his proceedings. Though nominally under the order of the

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Elector Maurice, he paid no regard whatever to his commands. Henry of Wolfenbuttel, whose country had suffered severely from the ravages of his mercenary hordes, collected a force which kept them rather in check; but, as soon as Maurice was at leisure, after the conclusion of the treaty of Passau, he judged it necessary to put an end to their irregularities. He, therefore, joined the Duke of Brunswick with a large portion of his army, and their united force was further augmented by the arrival of the contingent of Luneburg under the command of Frederick, son of Ernest the Confessor. Being in a condition to risk a battle, they immediately sought out the enemy, and found him entrenched at Silverhausen, in the principality of Celle. Albert's army had been greatly increased, and as both were led by able generals, the contest, as was to be expected, proved severe and sanguinary. The enmity which animated each party was so great, that the action began without any regard to order or regularity, and the total destruction of each other seemed more an object of attention than any desire for victory.

The battle of Silverhausen.

That part of the line where Maurice com-

manded in person, was thrown into confusion, and three regiments of his cavalry were put to flight; and in his endeavours to restore order, he received a dangerous wound in the side from a musket shot, which obliged him to leave the field. But, under Henry of Brunswick, the battle was continued, and the cavalry, ashamed of their panic, returned to the charge, when the whole advancing upon Albert's infantry, they were overpowered, and the route became general.

This victory was decisive, but it was dearly bought. Henry of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel lost two of his sons, Charles Victor and Philip; Frederick of Luneburg also fell, and Maurice of Saxony died two days after the battle. Albert retreated into Prussia, where he employed himself with all diligence in recruiting his army, and in a few months he is reported to have collected upwards of fifteen thousand men, with whom he renewed the campaign against the Duke of Brunswick.

Their armies met a second time, near Steddenberg, in the principality of Wolfenbüttel, and another sanguinary conflict ensued; but the veteran duke, by his generalship, gained a

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Henry of Wolfenbüttel continues the war.

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victory, even more decisive than the last ; and, as he was determined to put it out of the power of his enemy to molest him in future, he pursued him into Franconia, and, in the neighbourhood of Kitzugen, gained a third battle, which so disheartened the mercenaries, that they dispersed, and allowed him to return quietly to his own country, to enjoy the fruits of these campaigns.

The Emperor was highly pleased with the conduct of his friend on this occasion, and wrote to him, to express his thanks for having overthrown an enemy so dangerous and troublesome to the peace of Germany.

Little now remains to be added to the history of the princes of this generation.

Private annals of
the several princes.

Philip of Grubenhagen had retired from public life previous to the battle of Muhlberg. The issue of that battle greatly affected his health ; yet, when he heard that his son was a prisoner, he only required to know if he remained steadfast in the faith he had adopted, and being assured of this, seemed perfectly satisfied. He died at Hertzberg, in 1551, and his remains lie interred in the church at Osterode, where the place is marked by the

figure of an aged knight in full armour, with a sword lowered in his hand, and an open helmet and shield at his feet: the escutcheon bears two lions rampant, the one over the other, with an inscription indicating that, in the year 1551, on Friday, the 4th of May, the illustrious prince Philip, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg, departed this life, and that his remains rest there in peace. He was succeeded by his eldest son Ernest, who was released from his imprisonment about the time of his father's death.

Ernest the Confessor was succeeded by his eldest son Francis Otho, at Celle. Henry, his third son, got the principality of Danneberg, and William, his youngest son, was left without any appanage, but eventually succeeded to his elder brother at Celle. Henry, the younger, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel, lived till 1568; and it is reported that, in his latter days, he studied the Scriptures with so much diligence, that he became convinced of the truth of Luther's doctrines, and eventually conformed to the Protestant church. He left one son, Julius, that succeeded him at Wolfenbüttel; and, at the period of his death.

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the representation of the family stood thus:—

1st. Wolfgang, the second son of Philip I., had succeeded his brother Ernest, at Grubenhagen, and was now the head of the Brunswick family;—2nd. Julius, the son of Henry, was sovereign of Wolfenbüttel;—3rd. Erick, surnamed The Younger, of the same branch, possessed the territory of Calenberg;—4th. Otho, the younger, had succeeded his father Otho, the elder, at Harburg;—and, 5th. Francis, the brother of Ernest the Confessor, reigned at Gifforn;—while, 6th. Henry, the eldest son of the said Ernest, had got Danneberg;—and, 7th. William, his youngest son, the duchy of Celle.

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Wolfgang, the first in this list, died in 1586, and was succeeded by his brother Philip, the last prince of this name. Ernest, the eldest son of Philip I., was a prince of such activity and enterprize, that we cannot pass over his annals without observing, that, when tranquillity was restored to Germany by the peace of Religion, in 1555, he transferred his services to Philip of Spain, then engaged in a war with Henry II. of France. With his brother John, and Erick the second, of Calenberg, he was present at the celebrated battle

of St. Quentin, in 1557. John received a severe wound in the knee, of which he died soon after the battle; but Ernest and Erick returned to Germany, and the conduct of the latter had been so distinguished throughout the whole of that war, that the King of Spain bestowed upon him several lordships in the Low Countries. Ernest, during the last year of his reign at Grubenhagen, turned his attention principally to the working of the mines in the Harz.

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These valuable mines, first discovered in the tenth century, were worked with great advantage and profit to the house of Brunswick, till the downfall of Henry the Lion, when, for a time, they were suffered to fall into decay. The Emperor Otho IV. had the works repaired, and they continued in a flourishing state till the middle of the fourteenth century, when, from the civil wars and distracted state of the country, they were abandoned, and remained in ruins till the days of Ernest. He had the mountains examined by experienced miners, and brought workmen from Sweden, for whose accommodation he built the town of Clausthal. The miners were exempted from

Some account of the
mines of the Harz.

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all taxes and military service, and had various other privileges granted to them, so that they soon became a flourishing colony ; and, under his auspices, many a new and rich vein was discovered, and worked at St. Andreasberg, Altenau, Cellerfeldt, Wildeman, Gründe, and Laudenthal.

This prince married, in 1518, Anne Margaret, daughter of George, Duke of Pomeralia ; but at his death, in 1567, he left only one daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to John, Duke of Holstein, a son of Christian III., King of Denmark.

Annals of Wolfgang:

Wolfgang, the prince that stands first in our present list, succeeded his brother Ernest, as we have already mentioned. At the age of fifteen, he accompanied his father to the Protestant army, and was present at the attack made on the emperor's camp, near Ingolstadt, in 1546. When more able to wield a lance, he joined Maurice of Saxony, and commanded a corps in that army which surprised Ehrenberg, and drove Charles out of Inspruck : but, when the peace of Religion allowed him time to think of his own private affairs, and the death of his brother had brought him to the

government of the Duchy of Grubenhagen, he devoted his days to the establishment of the reformed religion in his dominions, and in preparing regulations for the proper government of the newly-settled church. One of his ordinances required, that all matters concerning points of doctrine and the rules and discipline of that church, should be annually discussed in a general meeting of the clergy; and that the decision of the majority should become the law of the state: and, with the view of promoting sound learning and true piety among the lower classes of his subjects, he founded and endowed many schools, where their children might be taught to read and understand the Scriptures.

During his reign, the extinction of the noble family of Plesse brought back to his house the castle of Rudolfhausen; and the death of the last Count of Hohnstein gave him possession of the county of Lutterberg, a small fief, which had been granted by one of his ancestors to that very ancient family.

Wolfgang married, in 1531, Dorothea, a princess of Saxe-Lawenburg, but had no issue, so that at his death, in 1595, the succession

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His reign:

His marriage

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fell to his youngest brother, Philip II., who did not survive him more than a year; and as this branch of the family, which had existed from the time of Albert the Great, a period of more than three hundred years, ended with this prince, we shall give the memoir of his life before we proceed to the annals of the other branches. But, indeed, there is little to relate. He spent much of his time with the Elector of Brandenburg, and was sixty-two years of age when he succeeded to his brother. He had acquired the reputation of being a pious and prudent prince, and his subjects anticipated much happiness under his rule. In 1533 he was united to his cousin Clara, the daughter of Henry of Wolfenbüttel, but they had no issue; and at his death, in 1596, the succession was disputed by the families of Wolfenbüttel and Luneburg: the former claimed it in terms of a settlement made by Philip; but the latter, as the elder branch of the family, were eventually declared to be his heirs, by a sentence of the imperial chamber.

And death.

Annals of Julius:

Julius, the prince that stands second in the list, was the youngest, and the only

surviving son of Henry of Wolfenbüttel. Henry, with the sanction of the emperor, had established the right of primogeniture in his family; there was, therefore, very little prospect, at first, of his ever coming to the head of the state. But, in the fatal battle of Silverhausen, his two elder brothers were cut off, and he was left alone. At an early period of his life, he had conformed to the Protestant faith, a circumstance which so exasperated his father and the Catholic party that directed his conscience, that he was prevailed upon to deliver him up to the priesthood, that he might be dealt with as an incorrigible apostate.

Julius was condemned by the priests to perpetual imprisonment; but through the aid of his sisters, he effected his escape from his father's court, and took refuge at Custrin, where he was kindly received by the Margrave of Brandenburg, his brother-in-law. Many efforts were made to mitigate the wrath of Henry, but all in vain; and even when sorrow for the loss of his two gallant sons, as it was supposed, might have influenced his heart in favour of this his only remaining child, he could not be pre-

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History of Duke Julius continued.

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vailed upon to receive him back to his affections, nor would he listen to any remonstrance made in his favour. The priests who surrounded the aged duke, made him believe that he might still have other heirs, and they prevailed upon him to enter into a second marriage; but their hopes were frustrated, and Julius remained his only legitimate male issue. Henry, however, had an illegitimate son by the young lady whom he had seduced from her attendance on the duchess; and the priests offered to get him legitimatized by the Pope, provided the duke would declare him his heir. But this young man, when their scheme was laid before him, most firmly rejected it. "If God," he said, "had meant that he was to be born a prince, he would have so ordered it, but as his fate had been otherwise cast, he would abide in that condition to which he was born." Finding thus, that all their efforts had proved ineffectual, the Catholic party gave up the contest; and Henry, when left to the reflections of his own mind, began to relent, and made some overtures for a reconciliation with his son Julius. He sent orders for him to re-

pair to Wolfenbüttel, and in a short time he was restored to his proper place in his father's affections.

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Adversity had taught Julius the proper value of worldly grandeur, and when he came to the government, at his father's death, in 1568, he conducted the affairs of the duchy with so much prudence and discretion, that he was considered one of the greatest ornaments of the illustrious house from which he had sprung. He found the church in a very disorganized state. The Protestant religion had been introduced, while Ernest of Celle had conducted the administration, during the absence of his father; but on his return, popery in all its rigour had been restored.

Julius again re-established the Protestants, and in order that their faith might be purged from many errors which had long prevailed, he called together an assembly of the most able divines, and by their assistance, a code was prepared and published, as the *Corpus Doctrinæ Julii*, which was ordered to serve in future, as a constant rule of faith in the dominions of Wolfenbüttel. He was sensible that the more learning increased and flourished in his

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states, the more satisfied would his subjects become of the truth of the doctrines he had maintained, and therefore he founded and endowed free schools in his principal cities and towns; and for the more general diffusion of the arts and sciences, established a college at Gandersheim, where professors were appointed to instruct the young men of rank in every branch of polite literature. The success which attended this last undertaking induced him afterwards to move it to Helmstadt, where he gave it the more regular form of an university, by a public inauguration of the several professors in 1576. His eldest son was made perpetual rector, and though only in his twelfth year, was so far advanced in his education, as to be able to harangue the learned body in Latin.

The commerce of the country equally engaged his attention. He had the public roads repaired at his own expense. The river Ocker was deepened and made navigable for boats. The mines of the Lower Harz, which lay in his dominions, were worked to great advantage, and their produce exported; and by these means he not only increased the wealth of his subjects, but added greatly to his own revenues.

Among other improvements, he laid the foundation of a new city in the vicinity of Wolfenbüttel, which in gratitude to his father's memory, he named Henrichstadt.

During his lifetime, he acquired the reversion of the county of Regenstein, and by the decease of his cousin Erick, without heirs, he succeeded to the principality of Calenberg; when his last days were spent in establishing the Protestant religion in that principality.

By his duchess, Hedwig, daughter of Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburg, he had a family of eleven children, four sons and seven daughters; Henry Julius, his eldest son, succeeded him; Philip Sigismund was made Bishop of Verden; Joachim Charles was Provost of Strasburg and Julius Augustus; became Abbot of Michaelstein, and Provost of the Cathedral of St. Blase, at Brunswick. Several of his daughters married into branches of their own family, and others were united to princes in their neighbourhood; Julius died, universally regretted, on the 3rd of May, 1589, and his remains lie interred at Wolfenbüttel.

Erick, surnamed the Younger, Duke of Calenberg, is the third prince in the list, and we

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Erick, Duke of Calenberg.

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have already adverted to many of the transactions of his life. He continued a rigid Catholic to the last, and after the battle of St. Quentin, received from Philip II. the order of the Golden Fleece, and had a grant of the Lordships of Liesfeldt, Woerden, and Neuhoffen, in the Netherlands; but the disturbances in the Archbishoprick of Bremen obliged him to return to Germany; and, irritated at the conduct of Albert of Brandenburg, who had abandoned his faith, and deserted the cause of the Teutonic Knights, that had placed him at their head, he determined to avenge the cause of religion, and to maintain the rights of their ancient order. With that view, he marched an army of fourteen thousand men into the Bishoprick of Munster, and after making the necessary arrangements, passed through the states of Luneburg, and continuing his route through Mecklenburg and Pomerania, advanced upon Prussia.

The first place he attacked was Dantzic, which not being in a state to defend itself, speedily capitulated, and by a bribe of a large sum of money, prevailed upon him to leave it unmolested. He then advanced upon the

Vistula, where he found Albert at the head of an army, ready to prevent his further progress. Both armies took up a position within view of each other; but as their leaders were afraid of risking a battle, a negotiation was entered into, which ended in a peace; and as the soldiers from both camps spent the greater part of their time in the woods, searching for food, this campaign came to be known in after times, by the name of the War of the Nuts.

Disgusted with the society of Germany, which had now universally degenerated into heresy, Erick left the North after his return from Prussia, and settled in the more pleasant and orthodox city of Pavia in Italy. He was twice married: first, to Sidonia, daughter of Henry Duke of Saxony; and secondly, to Dorothea, a Princess of Lorraine, but he had no legitimate issue; and at his death, in 1584, his principality as stated, reverted to Julius, the representative of the elder brother of the branch of Wolfenbittel.

Otho the younger, Duke of Harburg, our fourth prince, succeeded his father, in 1549; and like that father, he courted retirement, and declined to interfere in the bustle of the world.

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Otho the Younger.

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He encouraged learning, and inculcated piety within his own small domain,—lived as the chronicle assures us, a very peaceable life, and died lamented, at the age of seventy-five, in 1603. He married, first, Margaret, a Countess of Schwartzburg, by whom he had two sons, Otho Henry, and John Frederick, and one daughter; and secondly, Emma, a Princess of East Friesland, who became the mother of eleven children,—seven sons and four daughters; but of all this numerous progeny, only one son, named William, survived for any considerable period, and succeeded to his father's states. As this

The extinction of
the line of Harburg.

division of the family ended with him, we shall deviate again from the course usually pursued, and finish the annals of his branch, before we proceed to the history of the other princes, by whom the succession was carried on.

Otho Henry, the eldest son of the first marriage, died before his father; but though his brother, John Frederick, lived several years after the death of the old duke; he does not seem to have had any share in the management of the principality, as it was transferred to William, the eldest son of Otho's second marriage. This prince's thirst for knowledge was

such, that he studied at several universities in Germany, and afterwards travelled to all the courts of Europe. The chronicle informs us that he was master of six languages, and that he was author of several learned works on divinity.

His second brother, Christopher, superintended the government in William's absence, and after his death, in 1608, the next brother, Otho, was made a partner in the regency, but from his death, in 1618, William reigned alone. Christopher and Otho married two sisters, their cousins, the daughters of Julius of Wolfenbuttel, but they left no issue; and as William was never married, the House of Harburg became extinct in 1642. There was another prince of this family, named Frederick, a younger brother, a distinguished general in the army of Charles IX., King of Sweden, and killed at the siege of Riga in 1605.

Francis, Duke of Gifforn, the fifth prince in the list, was a zealous Protestant, and from the commencement of the reformation, gave Luther all his support; but when he married, and retired to the small territory of Gifforn, his influence could not be greater than that of many

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Francis, Duke of
Gifforn.

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private noblemen. In his retirement, he spent his time in building and adorning his new residence, and in superintending the welfare of his few vassals. He married Clara, the daughter of Magnus II., Duke of Saxe-Lawenburg; but as he left no male issue, this line also failed. He had two daughters, however, who married into the families of Misnia and Anhalt.

Frederic, and Francis Otho, of Celle.

The untimely death of Frederick*, the second son of Ernest the Confessor, and the short reign of Francis Otho†, his eldest son, left the states of that prince to be equally divided between his third and fourth sons, Henry and William, for as yet the right of primogeniture had not been established in the duchy of Luneburg. In the first instance, they consented to rule in unity. They were determined not to lessen their influence, by dividing their power; and, therefore, they resided together at Celle, where their father had kept his chief residence, and where they greatly enlarged and strengthened their almost impregnable castle. During their joint reign, the second war between the Duke of Holstein, (aided by the King of Denmark,

Henry and William reign together.

* Killed in the battle of Silverhausen, 20th July, 1553.

† Died 29th April, 1559.

Frederick II.,) and the people of Dithmar, disturbed for a time the peace of their country.

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The people that dwelt between the Elbe and the Eyder, in the small county or province of Dithmar, had often ventured to draw the sword in defence of their independence. Their country formed a part of that extensive heathen territory, which had been subdued by Henry the Lion, about the middle of the twelfth century, and was governed for some time by a native prince, to whom it had been given as a fief by Henry. That prince, on the fall of the Duke of Saxony, refused to transfer his allegiance to any other; but the country was claimed by those that succeeded to the duchy of Holstein; while the King of Denmark sought also to make the inhabitants vassals of his crown. Sometimes they made a show of acknowledging the supremacy of one state, and sometimes of another; but they never could be depended upon, and more than once, in the heat of battle, they decided the fate of the day, by turning their arms against the troops with whom they had entered the field as allies.

Some account of the people of Dithmar:

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The sovereignty of their country had been transferred by the Emperor Frederick III. to Christian I. of Denmark, in 1467; but, at that time, the people refused to acknowledge his government, and claimed the protection of the Archbishop of Bremen. John I., when he succeeded Christian, tried to induce them by fair means, to swear allegiance to Denmark, but in this he failed; and the conqueror of Sweden, enraged at their insolence, sent to inform them, that since they had refused to have him for their sovereign, he was determined they should have him for their enemy. He collected a large army, and with his brother Frederick, took up a position at Ham, on the borders of their territory; and the chronicle assures us, that out of contempt for the handful of rebels that had brought the Danish army to this place, the king and his nobles appeared in their gala-day dresses, as if they had been invited to a party of pleasure, and that horses and waggons were provided to carry off the plunder. But history gives us to understand that the people of Dithmar were not so easily conquered. They had retired to

Their first war with
Denmark

the woods and morasses, as their enemy approached, and had carried with them their families and their flocks.

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The Danes remained at Ham, expecting that the terror of their king's name would be sufficient of itself to bring the enemy to sue for mercy; but they were mistaken, and though the king offered to confirm all their ancient privileges, and to permit them to live under the government of their own laws, if they would only acknowledge him as their sovereign, either in his quality of King of Denmark, or as Duke of Holstein, we find they rejected all his offers, and treated his messengers with the utmost disdain. He then advanced into their country, which his army laid waste, without a single soldier appearing to oppose their ravages; but when tired of this uninterrupted course of destruction, he endeavoured to find out where the enemy was concealed. A detachment sent on that perilous service, was nearly cut off altogether, before they were aware of any danger; when the king, in anger, and contrary to the advice of his council, ordered the whole army to advance against the position where it was discovered the enemy had entrenched them-

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selves. A heavy rain and thick fog prevented the Danes from seeing the extent of the danger which they incurred by such an advance; and it was not till they found themselves in front of the enemy's breast-work, that they discovered they were hemmed in on each side by deep and impassable ditches, while the cannon in their front, and the baggage in their rear, prevented their forming either for defence or attack.

Proves successful.

In this state of confusion, they were assailed on all sides, by the people of Dithmar. After a severe loss of men and officers, the king and his personal suite took to flight, which added so much to the already-existing panic, that there was no longer any appearance of an organized army. Every man endeavoured to secure his own safety, but in every quarter an enemy appeared, so that those who escaped drowning in the ditches, were cut to pieces by their active assailants. The royal standard of Denmark was captured, but the king and his brother escaped to Holstein, and attempted to levy a fresh army. They were obliged, however, to enter into terms, which allowed this handful of people to choose their own master, and

from that time to the present period of our history, (nearly sixty years,) they had lived in peace. Frederick II. now ventured again to agitate the question, and shewed himself determined to reduce them under his authority. He entered their country with a powerful army, took their capital, and having succeeded in drawing them into a place where they were obliged to fight, their valour was overcome by numbers, and after losing three thousand of their bravest troops, the remainder, not more than four thousand, escaped to the marshes. But as they were without supplies, they were compelled to accede to the terms dictated by their conqueror.

Henry and William of Luneburg interfered in their behalf, and procured some mitigation of the terms at first decided upon; and, from that moment, this people have acknowledged the sovereignty of Denmark, and their country became, and has remained, a province of the duchy of Holstein.

In 1569, Henry married Ursula, the daughter of Francis, Duke of Engern, in Westphalia. William had previously, in 1561, married Dorothea, the daughter of Christian III., King of

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The second war :

Their conquest.

Henry and William
divide their states :

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Denmark, and as two distinct families were now growing up, they agreed to separate their establishments. Henry, though the eldest, retired from Celle, and took up his residence at Danneberg. He accepted of that principality, and the Castle of Hitzacker, as his appanage, and allowed William to remain in possession of all the other states of the duchy.

It was at this period, then, that the last and still existing division of the family of Brunswick commenced. Henry is the ancestor of the present Duke of Brunswick, and William the progenitor of the King of England and Hanover. The easy temper of the former, it was supposed, had induced him to surrender a great part of his birthright; but we may rather conclude, that, finding he had not the talents or activity of his younger brother, he preferred the honour of his family to his own personal aggrandizement, and allowed the representation of the House of Luneburg to remain with him whose habits and acquirements, and whose near alliance with the then powerful state of Denmark, gave the best promise for the independence of the whole.

William inherited his father's talents and

his father's zeal, in propagating the doctrines of Luther; and, in 1576, he caused these doctrines to be examined by a convocation of his clergy and other learned divines, and the result of their deliberations to be published, as the "*Corpus Doctrinæ Luneburgicum*," which it was necessary every clergyman in that state should subscribe, before he could either be ordained or instituted to a living. During his reign, the family of the Counts of Hoya became extinct, and their estates, holden of the Duchy of Brunswick and Luneburg, reverted to the superior, and were equally divided between William and his cousin Julius of Wolfenbüttel. The county of Deipholtz, a fief of Luneburg, reverted also to William, by the failure of male heirs, which added very considerably to his portion of his father's patrimony. He was so good a man, and so just a sovereign, that his subjects, and even his relations, took a pleasure in his prosperity; but though his dominions increased, his family increased also. By the Princess Dorothea of Denmark he became the father of seven sons and five daughters; while his elder brother, Henry, had four sons and three daughters.

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Their history continued:

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Danneberg, or rather Hitzacker, where the latter resided, was a castle of great strength and antiquity, on the banks of the Elbe; and, as the territory he possessed was small, it is probable his revenue was increased by the commerce on that river.

Their decease.

William died at Celle, and his remains were interred in the ducal vault, under the choir of the principal church of that city: his coffin, of copper, is still entire, and a long inscription, in the language of his day, informs us that he died on the 20th of August, and was buried there on the 20th of September, 1592, having lived fifty-seven years, and reigned thirty-three. Henry died on the 19th of January, 1598, and his remains lie interred at Danneberg.

Commencement of a new generation.

We have now arrived at the close of another century, and have brought down our annals to a new generation, when many important changes had taken place in the representation of the family of Brunswick. The ancient line of Grubenhagen was, as we have reported, altogether extinct, and Otho, the younger, of Luneburg, whose residence was at Harburg, had become the chief of the house of Bruns-

wick; but though he died in 1603, one or other of his sons (of whose annals we know nothing) succeeded to that principality; which William, the eldest born of his second marriage, transmitted to an only son, also named William, at whose death, in 1642, as has been stated, the branch of Harburg ended. Henry Julius had succeeded his father at Wolfenbuttel; Julius Ernest, the son of Henry, reigned at Danneberg; and Augustus, his brother, was sovereign of Hitzacker. Christian, the eldest of the seven sons of William of Luneburg, reigned at Celle.

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One short sentence has detailed all that is known of Otho and his descendants; we, therefore, come to the history of Henry Julius, the second in the list. This prince succeeded to his father's possessions in 1589. In 1585, he had married Dorothea, the daughter of Augustus, Elector of Saxony; but she died in childbed in February, 1587, leaving an only daughter; and, in 1590, he selected a princess of Denmark, Elizabeth, the daughter of Frederick II., as the partner of his bed. His father, a learned man himself, was so assiduous in promoting his education,

History of Henry Julius.

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that, at the age of twelve years, he was not only master of the Latin tongue, but had made considerable progress in Greek and Hebrew; and, by the time he had reached the age of manhood, he was a proficient in Mathematics, Philosophy, Chemistry, Physic, Law, and Divinity, and esteemed one of the most distinguished princes of his day. Besides being perpetual rector of his own university at Helmstadt, he was made Bishop of Halberstadt when only a child, and, in 1581, Bishop of Minden, which he resigned to his brother, Philip Sigismund, in 1585. He was a zealous supporter of the Protestant religion, and favoured its introduction into the Catholic see of Halberstadt; while, at the same time, he granted liberty of conscience to all his subjects, and permitted the canons of the cathedral to enjoy their offices, on condition of their dismissing their concubines, and living regular and pious lives. His dominions were greatly increased, soon after his accession, by the failure of heirs male in the families of Hohnstein and others; and, on the extinction of the Grubenhagen branch, he seized and kept possession of their territory, while, by

the acquisition of the principalities of Regenstein and Blankenburg, he greatly extended his dominion.

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The citizens of Brunswick, always turbulent, began early in his reign to quarrel with his administration, and to deny his sovereign authority within their walls. He tried, for a long time, to bring them to a sense of their duty, by measures of lenity and forbearance; but finding that his admonitions produced no effect, and that his forbearance rather increased than diminished their presumption, he attacked them with an armed force, and laid siege to the city. By means of a stratagem, he got possession of a part of their works, and after a severe and long-continued struggle between the assailants and the assailed, the latter sent to offer terms. But they had carried their rebellion too far to expect mercy: the duke refused to see their deputies, and directed the attack to be continued until the city should surrender at discretion. Though the besiegers had gained one of the outer works of the city, and held a bastion which greatly annoyed the town, they were not able to make further progress. They kept up a cannonade during the night,

The war with the
city of Brunswick:

BOOK IX. and the citizens, almost in despair, spent their
A.D. 1598. time in preparations for their defence.

Two young men of spirit and enterprise undertook to surprise the enemy on his own ground, and for that purpose left the city at different points, while it was yet too dark for them to be discovered. Each took with him about fifty volunteers, and, getting into the rear of Henry's army, attacked them at so unexpected a moment, that they were thrown into confusion, and before they were aware of the number of those that conducted this enterprise, the panic had become general, and the whole were in retreat. The Duke lost more than twelve hundred men, great part of his artillery, and many of his nobles.

His troops are defeated:

He raises a second army:

Disappointed and irritated by this bad success, he collected a still greater force, and returned to the siege, which was opened for the second time on the 21st of October, and conducted with so much vigour, that in four days the senate once more sent a deputation to wait upon their sovereign, and offer terms of submission; but they were such as could not be listened to; and while the bombardment was continued, the Ocker was diverted from

its course, and the city inundated. Exposed thus to the two destroying elements of fire and water, the despairing citizens had recourse to the Emperor, and implored his protecting arm, to secure them from utter destruction.

Rudolph, persuaded that it was affording a dangerous example to the rest of his subjects, to allow a war of this nature to be carried on without his consent, sent a positive order for Henry Julius to lay down his arms, and dismiss his allies. Julius, in part, complied with the orders of the Emperor, and published a manifesto, in which he stated his reasons for attacking his capital, and exposed the insolence and rebellion of his subjects.

The blockade of Brunswick continued during the whole of the winter: the embankment, by which the river was forced into the city, was enlarged and heightened, and by the middle of March, the water in the market-place had risen upwards of six feet. Every thing within its reach was destroyed, and the city was on the point of surrendering, when the dyke suddenly gave way, and the floods retired with such rapidity, that in less than two hours they were delivered from all danger.

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And continues the
blockade:

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The Duke, unable to reduce the city, made a merit of necessity, withdrew his troops, and returned to Wolfenbittel.

Brunswick, supported by the cities of the Hanseatic league, had taken into her pay a large body of mercenaries, raised in Westphalia and the Low Countries, and with them the country belonging to the Duke was in its turn invaded. Their ravages, however, alarmed the neighbouring princes, who now interposed their authority, and offered to bring about an accommodation. The emperor, Rudolph II., again

The Emperor in-
terferes :

interfered, and declared that, while he secured to Henry his hereditary rights, he would also support the city in its ancient privileges.

Henry Julius, satisfied with this declaration, immediately disbanded his army, and the mercenaries entered Brunswick, in order, as it was insinuated, that they might be paid off; but they were no sooner in possession of the capital, than they began to renew their ravages, and, under the authority of the magistrates, they made daily excursions into the neighbouring provinces, and carried off the cattle, and destroyed the peasants and open villages without mercy: they even formed the design

of destroying the prince himself. Having ascertained that Henry was at Schoeningen, in the vicinity of Halberstadt, and about to return to Wolfenbittel, and that he would be feebly guarded, they laid a plan for his being surprised and taken on that journey. They placed a detachment of troops on each side of the road which they knew he must pass, but so concealed, that they could not be discovered until he was completely in their power. Their manœuvres, however, had been watched by a shepherd, who hastened to meet his prince, and to apprise him of his danger, and by conducting him through an unknown path, brought him in safety to his capital.

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It was proved that the magistrates had not only authorised, but planned this treacherous ambuscade; and when it was communicated to the Emperor, the ban was proclaimed against the city, and their confederates were commanded to withdraw their support from so rebellious a community.

The senate of Brunswick, endeavoured to escape from the penalties of their proscription, by boldly denying all knowledge of the conduct of their mercenaries; but having failed

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His war with the
city of Brunswick
terminated:

in establishing their innocence, the sentence was confirmed, and solemnly proclaimed by the imperial heralds. The execution of the ban was intrusted to Henry Julius, but as he was unwilling that a number should suffer for the rebellion of a few, he so managed the matter as to have their differences arranged without proceeding to extremities.

As Henry Julius ranked high in favour with the Emperor Rudolph, he was often called upon to interfere between him and his brother Matthias; and, on more than one occasion, had the pleasure of knowing that while he had been a peace-maker between the brothers, he had also saved the empire from much bloodshed and misery. He lived to see Matthias established on the throne; paid him a visit at Prague, and was preparing to attend a diet at Ratisbon, where he knew matters of the highest importance were about to be discussed, when he was seized with a slow fever, which, in a few weeks, put an end to his existence and to a life of great activity and usefulness.

Death of that prince. He died at Prague on the 20th of July, 1613, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and his remains were transported to Wolfenbittel,

where they were interred in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, on the 4th of October of the same year. By the Princess Elizabeth of Denmark, sister of the queen of James the First of England, Henry Julius had eleven children, six sons and five daughters. His eldest son, Frederick Ulrick, succeeded him at Wolfenbuttel. His second son, Henry Julius, died in 1606. His fifth son, Charles, succeeded him as Bishop of Halberstadt, and dying in 1615, was succeeded by his brother Rudolph, who again, in 1616, was succeeded by Christian, the third son, of whom we shall have to treat more at large hereafter.

Julius Ernest, the third prince in the list, succeeded his father at Danneberg, in 1598. We have nothing recorded of him beyond his name, and his marriage with a princess of East Friesland, by whom he had one daughter, who married a duke of Mecklenberg-Schwerin. He kept aloof from the troubles which agitated Germany during his lifetime, and died in 1636, leaving his small patrimony and the states of Wolfenbuttel, which had fallen to him by the death of the successor of Henry Julius, to his younger brother, Augustus, the

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Julius Ernest.

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fourth prince in the list, whose history, with that of his cousin Christian, of the same branch, and the fifth in the present list, is so interwoven with the affairs of Germany and of Europe, during the eventful period in which they lived, that, before they are proceeded in, we must take a short view of the general history of the empire, and of the changes that had taken place in Europe, during the last half of the sixteenth century.

History of the empire resumed :

By the treaty of Passau, in 1552, it was referred to the next diet of the empire, to confirm and perfect the religious pacification which was then agreed upon. But the state of Germany prevented any meeting taking place till 1555, when the subject was entered upon at Augsburg. After a long and keen debate, a decree was agreed to, and published by Ferdinand, as King of the Romans, wherein it was declared, that all the princes and cities, that had signified their approbation of the confession of Augsburg, should be permitted to profess the doctrines, and exercise the worship which it authorised, without interruption or molestation from the Emperor, the King of the Romans, or any power or person whatso-

The Peace of Religion :

ever;—that the Protestants were not to interfere with, or disturb the princes and states that still adhered to the Catholic faith; and that, for the future, no attempt should be made towards terminating religious differences by any other than the gentle and pacific method of persuasion and conference;—the Popish ecclesiastics were to have no spiritual jurisdiction in those states that had adopted the confession of Augsburg; and those who had seized upon the benefices and revenues of the church, were allowed to retain possession of them, without being liable to any prosecution in the imperial chamber.

The supreme civil power, in every state, was permitted to establish what form of doctrine and worship it thought proper, reserving, however, at the same time, liberty, for those that might not think proper to conform, to remove with all their effects to some other state;—if any prelate or ecclesiastic should abandon the Romish religion, after the publication of the decree, he was instantly to relinquish his diocese or benefice; and those that had the right of nominating a successor, were immediately to proceed to a fresh election.

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These were the principal articles of that famous decree, which formed the basis of the religious peace in Germany, and which served as a bond of union among its various states for a period of nearly fifty years.

Charles V. abdicates
his succession.

Charles the Fifth had ceased to trouble himself with the affairs of Germany: he had grown old before his time, and wisely sought to conceal in some solitude those infirmities which were every day becoming more evident to the public eye. By his abdication, his brother Ferdinand succeeded to the empire, and his son, Philip, inherited Spain and his other dominions. The former, by his prudence and good management, conciliated all parties, and obtained the distinction of being considered the best emperor that had ever reigned in Germany; while the latter, by his bigotry and dissimulation, drove his most attached subjects into rebellion, and produced a revolution in the Low Countries, which in the end deprived him of many of the finest provinces of that country.

During the struggle for civil and religious liberty in the Netherlands, the provinces of Germany were comparatively tranquil; the Treaty of Religion was faithfully observed by

all parties, during the reign of Ferdinand the First, and not much interfered with by his son, Maximilian II.; and the princes of the empire were allowed to send their vassals to fight the battles of the Calvinists in the kingdom of France, under the banner of the great Condé. Rudolph II., when he succeeded to his father, was guided by the same maxims of moderation and mildness which had distinguished the last two reigns.

The Protestants continued to live in security under the guarantee of existing treaties, and the empire to enjoy tranquillity throughout the whole extent of its limits; while in France and the Low Countries war still raged with all its horrors. But this was a period of too much happiness to last for ever. The Turks again invaded Hungary, and the Emperor, enfeebled in body and mind, was drawn into the commission of acts, which excited alarm and distrust among the Protestants; while the intriguing spirit of his cousins, Ferdinand and Albert, and the Catholic party by whom he was surrounded, gave serious uneasiness to all the Protestant subjects of the empire.

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The first transaction of any consequence

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Civil war in the
bishoprick of Co-
logne :

that brought the parties into collision, was the apostacy and defection of the Catholic Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, Gebhard de Truchse, Baron of Walbourg; the prelate that had succeeded the Baron of Isembourg. The latter, with the errors of the church of Rome, had quietly given up the valuable bishoprics of Paderbonne and Cologne; but though Gebhard had changed his faith, he had no desire to change his condition, or to give up the rank and power he had acquired as an elector of the empire. The Protestants were induced to support his pretensions, contrary, indeed, to an express article in the Peace of Religion, and a civil war ensued, which was carried on by Frederick of Saxony, a canon of the church, and the Duke of Cleves, on the one side; and by Gebhard, aided by the Duke of Deux-Ponts and the Protestants, on the other. The Emperor endeavoured to prevail upon Gebhard to act as his predecessor had done; but it was all in vain: upon which the Pope issued a bull, declaring him a confirmed heretic, an enemy of the church, and a perjured man. As a diseased and loathsome member, he was excommunicated, and cut off from the society

of the faithful, and deprived of all the rights privileges, and immunities, which he possessed as Archbishop of Cologne. The nobility and vassals of the electorate were absolved from their oath of allegiance, and commanded to elect another archbishop, and to put him into immediate possession of the see.

BOOK IX.

A.D. 1610.

When the bull was made public, the Protestant princes besought the Emperor to interpose his authority, and prevent the horrors of a civil war. Rudolph was anxious to satisfy all parties, and to maintain peace; but the Chapter, under the direction of the Canon of Saxony, proceeded to a new election, and Ernest of Bavaria, already Bishop of Frisengen, Hildesheim, and Liege, was declared Archbishop of Cologne. Casimir, brother of the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, one of the most active favourers of the Protestant interest, had taken up arms in defence of the untenable claims of the excommunicated Archbishop, and though commanded by Rudolph to abstain from hostilities, he refused to disband his troops, and kept the country in a state of alarm for several months. Frederick of Saxony, however, was the general of Ernest, and he

The Protestants remonstrate against the Pope's Bull.

BOOK IX.

 A.D. 1610.

proved so able a commander, that, in a very short time, he was in full possession of the disputed territory,—and Gebhard a poor exile at the Hague.

Towards the end of Rudolph's reign, the disturbances in Hungary, and the discontent in Bohemia, gave abundant evidence that the peace of the empire could not long be maintained. But Matthias, when he succeeded his brother, was sufficiently popular in both those kingdoms to prevent any general revolt during the greater part of his reign: nevertheless, the Catholic ministers of a Catholic king had shewn that the most solemn engagements could be evaded, and that the Protestants had nothing to expect from their justice, and little to hope from their favour.

Other circumstances
that led to the war
in Bohemia:

In 1610 the Protestants of Bohemia obtained from Rudolph a decree, of the most strict and binding nature, whereby the two religions were placed upon the most perfect footing of equality in that kingdom; but the officers of the king refused to publish that decree. None but Catholics were promoted to places of trust, and the clergy of that church were provided for, while the reformed

were cast out, and neglected. The Emperor Matthias, during his brother's lifetime, had found it necessary to conciliate the Protestants, as well in Bohemia as in the empire, but at last, through the intrigues of the Jesuits and the representations of his cousin Ferdinand, he was induced to adopt a different line of conduct, and he began to shew that he considered them rather as factious and discontented vassals, whom it was his duty to punish, than as friends and subjects, whose good-will he was disposed to cultivate. Besides, there were two separate leagues in existence: the one denominated the "Evangelical Union," the other the "Catholic League," and as these associations had not been formed in the spirit of peace, their partisans used every means to keep alive the existing enmity between the two religions.

Bohemia was already in a very dissatisfied state, when Matthias proposed that the states should transfer the crown to his cousin and probable successor, the Archduke Ferdinand*. This measure, which was carried, notwithstanding the opposition of the Protestants, did

BOOK IX.

A.D. 1617.

A.D. 1618.

* Ferdinand was the son of Charles, Archduke of Austria, second brother of the Emperor Maximilian II.

BOOK IX.

A.D. 1618.

not tend to lessen their discontent, particularly when it was known that Ferdinand was a most bigoted Catholic, and not disposed to use any moderation with those that had departed from the faith of the church. The Protestants, immediately after his election, were removed from the government of the provinces, the command of the armies, and all civil appointments. Suspected, hated, and thus removed from all hopes of favour, this persecuted body were not long in resolving to do justice to themselves.

The states of that kingdom declare war against the Emperor:

The states of the kingdom were assembled at Prague, and as the Protestants formed a considerable majority, they passed a resolution to maintain their confession of faith; to defend the liberties of the kingdom; and support each other against all that should attack either the one or the other. The Count de la Tour, a nobleman distinguished for his talents and his birth took the lead in this rebellion. He was appointed the general of the nation, and having overturned the established government of Matthias, intrusted the supreme authority to thirty directors, chosen from the general states.

Silesia followed in the footsteps of Bohemia,

and united with her in throwing off the Austrian authority; and, as such conduct was thought to merit a sudden and severe chastisement, instant war was urged by Ferdinand, but opposed by Matthias, who, though he had given up the crown, had reserved the supreme authority during his lifetime. Still it was evident that war must be the result. Both parties, therefore, commenced the most active preparations; and that scourge, which desolated Germany for upwards of thirty years, and ruined many of her finest provinces, began at this time to make its appearance in Bohemia.

BOOK IX.

A.D. 1618.

BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE PRINCES OF THE
LAST DIVISION OF THE HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK
AND LUNEBURG.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1618.

The princes of the
House of Brunswick
alive at this period:

AT the period that those troubles commenced in Bohemia, which led to what has been denominated “the Thirty Years’ War;” there were not less than thirteen princes of the House of Brunswick, all capable of bearing arms, and many of them ready to join in the contest;—1st, William, sovereign of the small principality of Harburg, whose name and history have already been in a great measure anticipated, was then the head of the family; 2nd, Otho, the brother of William, was the next in succession; 3rd, Julius Ernest, the eldest son of Henry of Danneberg, was established at Danneberg; while 4th, Augustus, his brother, had the castle of Hitzacker; 5th, Christian, the second and eldest surviving son of William the Younger, was sovereign of Luneburg, and resided at Celle, where his brothers, Augustus, Frederick, Magnus, George, and John, had their residence

also; 6th, Frederick Ulrick was Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbittel; 7th, his brother, Christian, was Bishop of Halberstadt; while 8th, Christopher, another brother, was employed in the military service of the King of Denmark.

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The first and second of the princes in this list, lived, as we have stated, in retirement. They had little connexion with the bustle of the world, and dying without issue, their states devolved upon the heirs of William the Younger, Duke of Luneburg.

William and Otho:

Julius Ernest, the third in the list, passed his life in comparative obscurity, and having no issue, his states were inherited by his brother Augustus, who on the death of William of Harburg in 1642, became the head of the family. In 1634, this prince came into possession of the states of Brunswick and Wolfenbittel, and thereby acquired an influence that made him conspicuous among the princes of the empire. His history is therefore mingled with the history of the period in which he lived, and his name and his deeds will be mentioned hereafter, as the transactions of that eventful period are considered in detail.

Julius Ernest:

Augustus:

Christian of Luneburg also, and his five sur-

BOOK X.

A.D. 1618.

Christian of Luneburg:

viving brothers*, were so much connected with the affairs of Europe, that their annals are merged in the general records of the empire.

Frederick Ulrick.

Frederick Ulrick, the sixth, or more properly speaking, the eleventh prince in the list, was involved for some time in a contest with the city of Brunswick, which again denied the sovereign authority of its duke, and refused to confirm the agreement that had been made with his father; and notwithstanding that the imperial ban was still in force against the senate, they denied the authority of Frederick, and defied his power. He tried to win them over to his views by gentle means, but he tried in vain, and was at last compelled to levy troops, and to invest the city. He kept up a blockade for three months, and it was maintained with such vigilance, that the citizens finding their commerce ruined, and their provisions failing, obliged their rulers to listen to reason, and to accept of the terms offered by their sovereign. This took place in 1617. The ban of the empire was formally repealed, and Brunswick returned to her duty and allegiance.

* Ernest the elder brother of this family died 1611.

Frederick Ulrick was a munificent patron of learning and learned men: he greatly augmented the revenues of the University of Helmstadt, and added to its library. He built the arsenal at Wolfenbittel, and renewed the pedestal of the Lion of Brunswick, which had been erected in the great square of that city, by his ancestor Henry. The rest of his life belongs to general history, and as such will find its place in our subsequent pages. Christian, the brother of Frederick, and Bishop of Halberstadt, is also a public character; but Christopher, their younger brother, is one of whom we have neither public nor private annals, and we only know that he was employed in the Danish service, and killed in battle about the year 1626.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1618.

Christian of Wolfenbittel.

Christopher.

The long-gathering tempest had now burst forth in Bohemia; the Emperor's ministers had been tossed from the windows of the senate house of Prague, and the imperial authorities, in a great measure, driven from the kingdom. The eloquence of Count De la Tour, a nobleman of Moravia, had roused the energies of the people, and inflamed their patriotism, while the military skill of Ernest, Count of Mansfeldt, was

Affairs of Bohemia

BOOK X.

A.D. 1618.

employed to discipline their armies ; but it was not till after the death of the Emperor Matthias, that the parties ceased to negotiate with the head of the empire. Ferdinand had been forced upon them by the Catholics, and the influence of his party, even during the lifetime of his cousin, had been too severely felt, to admit of any compromise, when he had the supreme power in his own hands. The states of Bohemia, therefore, declared their throne vacant ; and as they held it to have been elective, from the first establishment of their monarchy, they made choice of the Elector Palatine, Frederick V., to succeed Matthias.

The Elector Palatine made king :

It was the influence of the Count De la Tour that determined the states to make this choice ; and although his motives may have been more personal than was consistent with his avowed patriotism, their preference of Frederick was justified by many concurrent circumstances.

History of that prince :

His hereditary dominions were extensive, and in a state of great prosperity ; his alliance with England, even then considered the most powerful state in Europe ; his rank in the Protestant union, and well known public and private virtues, were all such as to entitle him

to a crown. But it was an enterprise which his best friends knew he wanted energy and ability to conduct to a happy issue, and those who had his interest most at heart, earnestly dissuaded him from accepting the offered diadem. The Electress, however, (the beautiful and accomplished, but ambitious Elizabeth Stuart) viewed the matter in a different light, and her proud spirit is said to have led to a decision, which, though it secured for a fleeting moment a contested throne, led eventually to the loss of both rank and dominion.

When Frederick was made acquainted with his election, he despatched messengers to England, Saxony and Bavaria, to ask for advice; but before they could return, the question had been settled in his own council at Heidelberg. The Elector of Saxony admitted the justice of the cause he proposed to undertake, but advised caution. The Duke of Bavaria held forth the fickleness of the Bohemian people, as a reason for their not being trusted; while King James at once decided, that he ought not to accept the crown. These counsels, however, availed nothing; the die was cast, and preparations had

BOOK X.

A.D. 1618.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1618.

already been made by Frederick and Elizabeth, for their progress to their new kingdom.

Among the princes that accompanied the king and queen to the capital of Bohemia, we find the Duke of Mecklenburg, the Prince of Anhalt, and Count Louis of the Palatinate, particularly mentioned, but those of Brunswick, Saxony, and the other Protestant states appear to have kept at a distance, and by their conduct to have shewn that they disapproved of the measure he had adopted. Ferdinand, in the meantime, called to the throne of Germany by a majority of the electors, and claiming the crown of Bohemia as his hereditary right, shewed a firmness, in the then unpromising state of his affairs, that secured him the support of a great majority of the states of the empire.

The conduct of the Bohemian states was certainly not approved of by any of the well-ordered governments in Europe; as the republic of Venice was the only power of any consequence that ever acknowledged the kingly title of the Elector Palatine.

The preparations made by the Emperor, and

the Catholic party, induced the princes of the Protestant union to arm their subjects; but through the intervention of the court of France, a treaty was signed at Ulm, by which they bound themselves to remain neuter in the war between Ferdinand and Bohemia. Frederick was thus left to his own resources, and he too soon found that he had to trust to a feeble reed.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1619.

Under the Marquis of Spinola, a Spanish force invaded the Palatinate, while the Duke of Bavaria, at the command of his sovereign, undertook to lead an army into the rebellious kingdom. The army of Frederick, which consisted of the half-organized Bohemian levies, and a few mercenaries, was put under the command of the Prince of Anhalt, and Ernest of Mansfeldt. But the mutual jealousy which existed between these commanders, joined to the disaffection and mutiny that existed among the Bohemian nobles and soldiers, shewed evidently, that little confidence was to be placed in their union or obedience.

The Spaniards seize
his states:

The fatal battle of Prague put an end to Frederick's reign, though it may be considered as only the commencement of that war which,

The battle of Prague
ends his reign.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1619.

for so many years, devastated the states of Germany. Frederick and Elizabeth, after the loss of that battle, fled from Prague to the mountains of Silesia, leaving the Marquis of Jagerdorf and Christian of Brunswick, who had lately joined the army, with a body of mercenaries from Lusace, to maintain their claims in Bohemia. Their army, however, was too weak to offer any effectual resistance, and with the capital, the whole kingdom submitted to the arms of the victor.

Ferdinand finding his authority re-established, proceeded, with the utmost vindictiveness, to satiate his vengeance on the poor unfortunate Bohemians; and while the ban of the empire was declared against Frederick and his abettors, the nobles that had adhered to his party were cut off in detail, by the sword of the executioner.

The war commences
in Germany :

Under pretence of destroying the authors of this rebellion, the war was transferred from Bohemia into Germany; but it soon became apparent that the Emperor had a higher aim than the pursuit of rebels, and that his chief object was to attack the vital principle of Protestantism in Europe.

The princes of the union, as the war approached their territories, began to arm in their own defence, and with an impulse almost simultaneous they prepared for hostilities. But the efforts of Frederick and his friends were now confined entirely to the recovery of the Palatinate. For that purpose, Christian IV., of Denmark, the uncle of Elizabeth, furnished him with a corps of six thousand men; and, at the request of Frederick Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick, a meeting of the states of Lower Saxony was held at Segenberg, in the duchy of Holstein, where the king attended, and gave his sanction to the measures which the princes considered it necessary to adopt in the then unsettled state of the country. The Imperialists had taken possession of the Palatinate, and the army of the Catholic League had spread itself all over Germany.

The Count of Mansfeldt effected his retreat from Bohemia in a way that shewed the resources of the man, and the talents of the general, and in the Upper Palatinate had an opportunity of recruiting his army. The Margrave of Baden Durlach gave up the government of his little state to his eldest

BOOK X.

A.D. 1620.

Several princes join
Frederick:

Count Mansfeldt:

The Margrave of
Baden:

BOOK X.

A.D. 1620.

son, and placed himself at the head of a respectable force. Christian of Wolfenbuttel levied troops in the states of Brunswick, and took the command of the Danish contingent.

As soon as Mansfeldt considered his army in any degree equal to the contest, he entered the Lower Palatinate, and attacked the troops of the League under the command of General Tilly. Christian of Brunswick endeavoured to join him, but met with so many difficulties, from the opposition of his brother, Frederick Ulrick, and the Landgrave of Hesse, whose territories he had to pass through, that Mansfeldt was beaten before he could reach the Palatinate; he, therefore, returned to the circle of Westphalia, and by way of reprisals, for the exactions made by the Imperialists in the dominions of Frederick, seized upon Lipstadt, West-Hamm Paderborn, and other Catholic cities, gave them up to plunder, and laid the country under contribution.

Christian of Wolfenbuttel.

Christian, on taking the field, had declared himself the enemy of the Catholic priesthood; and it is recorded, that when he entered the cathedral of Paderborn (a venerable fabric of the days of Charlemagne), he observed the

image of St. Libonus, its patron, made of pure gold, surrounded with the figures of the twelve apostles, of silver. And as the chronicle quaintly remarks, he sternly rebuked them for their indolence in remaining there, when they had so much of their master's work to do; and adds, that he sent them quickly on their proper mission: for that both saint and apostles were ordered to the melting-pot, and converted into dollars, which bore the duke's head on one side, and a German motto on the other, importing that he was a friend to God and an enemy to priests.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1621.

Mansfeldt, though beaten in his first contest with Tilly, succeeded in rallying his force, and in repairing his losses. He fixed upon a plan for the opening of the next campaign; and, as the presence of Frederick with the army was considered of importance, he wrote to urge him to join his head-quarters without delay. That unfortunate prince, therefore, left the Hague, (where, through the liberality of the United States, and the friendship of the Prince of Orange, he had found an asylum for his queen and family,) and, travelling in disguise, embarked at Rotterdam

Mansfeldt invites
the Elector to join
his army.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1622.

for Calais, passed through Paris, where he stopped a few days, and then proceeded through Lorraine to Landau, where he arrived on the 11th of April, and was received by the Count of Loewenstein, and his arrival notified to Mansfeldt, whose head-quarters were at Germersheim.

His arrival at the
camp.

Frederick arrived at a very critical moment. The Baron de Roville had found his way to the camp of Ernest, and as the secret agent of the Governess of the Low Countries, the Archduchess Isabella, had made some tempting offers, to induce that soldier of fortune to join the House of Austria. Mansfeldt was promised, on the part of the Emperor, the city and territory of Hagenau, to be settled on him and his descendants, with the rank and title of a Prince of the Empire. He was to have the revenues of the confiscated estates of the House of Nassau in the Austrian Netherlands ; and if these should happen to be restored by a treaty of peace, a sum equal to their revenue would be paid to him during his life. He was offered a gratuity of four hundred thousand rix dollars, to be paid within a few weeks : the rank of Marshal of the

Armies of the Archduchess, with a pay of twelve thousand crowns,—to have no superior except the Marquess of Spinola, and to have the sole disposal of a thousand horse and four thousand infantry.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1622.

The Count was beginning to listen to these offers,—perhaps not with that affected complaisancy which some authors would insinuate; but when it was announced to him that Frederick was at Landau, and on his way to Gernersheim, his resolution was changed in a moment. Though sitting at table with the agent of Isabella, he filled a bumper to the health of the Elector, and stated to Roville, that, as Frederick had arrived to take possession of his hereditary states, there was no longer any necessity for his presence in the camp. Leaving the Baron still at the dinner-table, he ordered his trumpeter to sound to horse, and, at the head of his cavalry, went forth to meet the Elector, whose appearance in the Palatinate had given great satisfaction, and he was received by the army with the utmost enthusiasm. Mansfeldt lost no time in developing his plan, which was to relieve Heidelberg, the capital of the

Mansfeldt goes out to meet him.

Plan of their campaign.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1622.

electorate, while the troops of the Margrave of Baden, and Christian of Brunswick, should penetrate into the hereditary states of the Duke of Bavaria, and occupy the attention of Maximilian, during the time they were engaged with Tilly.

Orders were accordingly issued for the parties to move, as had been agreed upon, and Frederick and Mansfeldt crossed the Rhine, and obliged the Bavarian general to decamp from before the castle of Dilsberg. Tilly took up a position on the skirts of a forest near Wistork, or Wipslock, with a view of intercepting the advance of the Margrave of Baden; but Mansfeldt, aware of his intentions, attacked him in several places, and having drawn him into a well-concerted ambuscade, obtained a very decided victory near Mingleheim; but instead of following up that victory, he laid siege to Ladenburg, a place of considerable strength, and occupied by a Spanish garrison. This halt allowed Tilly sufficient time to rally his fugitive troops, and to recall the Spanish force under Gonsalves de Cordova to his aid, when the tardy capitulation of Ladenburg but ill compensated for the defeat and dispersion of

At first successful.

the troops commanded by the Margrave of Baden. That prince, disdaining to serve under Mansfeldt, had been rather slow in obeying the commands of the Elector; his army, therefore, was encamped at Bebrac, when Tilly and Gonsalves, having united their forces, took up a position on his front, between Weimpheim and Heilbron. The Margrave took no measures to avoid an action, but rather seemed to court it, and was not even at the trouble to take hold of some advantages which his position gave him, and which the enemy, more prudent, speedily availed himself of; and the consequence was, that in a short time his lines were forced, his troops dispersed, and the whole of his artillery and baggage in the possession of Tilly.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1622.

The Margrave of
Baden beaten.

News arriving that the Archduke Leopold was advancing upon Hagenau, Mansfeldt became alarmed for the treasure which he had deposited in that city: he, therefore, left the Elector, with a small force, to repair the breaches of Lademburg, and instantly repassed the Rhine. Arriving at Frankenthal, he encountered a thousand of the Archduke's cavalry, and so completely defeated them, that the fugitives,

BOOK X.

A.D. 1622.

on their arrival at the main body of the army, excited such alarm, that Leopold, notwithstanding all his efforts, could not prevail upon them to keep their ranks, but was obliged to decamp, leaving the whole of his baggage and ammunition to be taken possession of by Mansfeldt.

Mansfeldt releases
Hagenau.

Having thus relieved Hagenau and secured his plunder, he rejoined the Elector and the Margrave, (who, with a remnant of his vanquished troops, had found his way to Frederick's head-quarters,) but it was no longer with any intention of adhering to his first well-ordered plan that Mansfeldt now entered the Palatinate. Without either consulting or attending to the wishes of the Elector, he commenced a series of profitable depredations upon the

Invades Darmstadt

Principality of Hesse-Darmstadt, took the Landgrave a prisoner, and delivered his country up to plunder. Tilly had no sooner defeated the troops of Baden, than he set out to meet the Duke of Brunswick, then rapidly advancing to join Mansfeldt, and to put himself under the orders of the Elector. Christian's army consisted of about six thousand horse, and eight thousand infantry; and

he had reached Hoechst on the Mayne, when he found Tilly ready to oppose his further advance with a force greatly superior to that under his command. He tried all he could to avoid an action, but it was in vain; he was attacked, and obliged to defend his position, which he did with great bravery for a considerable time. At last he gave orders for a retreat, and directed his infantry to re-cross the river by a bridge he had constructed in their rear. In the confusion which ensued, this bridge broke down, and a great part of his men were thrown into the river, where they perished; while his cavalry, and a few of the infantry, escaped by a ford which they fortunately discovered, and made their way to Darmstadt, where Mansfeldt had his headquarters.

This disaster, with the defection of the Margrave of Baden, and the ill-regulated cupidity of the Count of Mansfeldt, which disgusted the subjects of the Elector as much as the exactions of the Imperialists, put an end to all these favourable prospects with which the campaigns had opened, and Frederick found himself under the necessity of

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A.D. 1632.

Christian of Halberstadt beaten.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1622.

listening to the representations from England and Denmark, as these powers, in answer to their remonstrances in his behalf, had received a notification from the Emperor, that, when the Count Palatine had no longer in his pay men outlawed by the empire, and whose army wasted the country with fire and sword, he would then consider favourably the prayer of the kings of England and Denmark in his behalf.

Frederick obliged to
disband his army.

At the solicitation of his friends, he agreed to lay down his arms, and dismiss his generals; and, by a proclamation to this army, he made it known “that the illustrious princes, the capitain-general of his forces, and the lieutenant-general under him, namely, the Count of Mansfeldt, and Prince Christian Duke of Brunswick, with all the colonels, lieutenant-colonels, captains, and other officers, had each singly, and conjointly, to the utmost of their power, rendered the Elector Palatine faithful service; but being thus destitute of all human assistance, he found it impracticable to make any further use of them, except to their own great inconvenience and detriment. He therefore, with all due resignation of mind, allowed them

His Proclamation to
that Army.

to solicit their dismissal in the dutiful and respectful manner they had done, and like a friend, with all imaginable tenderness and humanity, not only absolved them from the oath they had taken to him, but permitted them to consult their safety and interest, as far as it might be possible, elsewhere."

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A.D. 1622.

Mansfeldt and Christian, thus discharged from their attendance upon Frederick, marched their troops into Lorraine, without well knowing what they were going to do. They had still a force of eight thousand cavalry, with upwards of ten thousand infantry, and fourteen pieces of artillery. They halted for a short time in the neighbourhood of Metz, where the Count received an offer from Louis XIII. of France; he afterwards continued his route, and established his camp in the environs of Sedan.

Duke Christian and
Mansfeldt enter Lor-
raine:

It is said, that the Duke de Bouillon, the head of the Calvinist party, had prevailed upon him to take this step, that he might form a rallying point for the Protestants of France; and so formidable did he appear at the head of these brigands, that not only the Emperor, but the King of Spain, the states of Holland, the

BOOK X.

A.D. 1622.

They enter the service of the Prince of Orange.

republic of Venice, all made him the most tempting offers to join their standards.

The Duke of Brunswick had separated from the Count, but when both had resolved to enter the service of Holland, they united their forces, and proceeded to join Maurice, Prince of Orange, and to relieve Bergen-op-Zoom, which was then besieged by the Spanish general, Spinola. They had crossed the Moselle at Metz, and had passed through the Duchy of Luxembourg, when at the village of Fleurus, not far from Namur, they were met by Gonsalves de Cordova, with a Spanish army, more than equal to that under their command. It was impossible, had it even been thought advisable, to avoid an action, and had the troops of Duke Christian not mutinied, the victory would have been with the Protestants. Three thousand of his men refused to fight; but notwithstanding this defection, he led the remainder through the ranks of the Spaniards, and forced his way to the head-quarters of Prince Maurice, not, however, without being severely and desperately wounded; a musket-ball pierced his left arm, and the wound being badly attended to, he was

The Battle of Fleurus.

under the necessity of having the limb amputated. The operation was performed, says the chronicle, in the presence of his troops, the trumpets sounding, and the kettle-drums beating, and he had an artificial arm made of silver, with which he learnt to manage his horse with great dexterity.

Frederick, a Prince of Saxe-Weimar, and the Count of Oetemburg, with more than five thousand men, were killed in this action, and during the retreat into Holland. The reinforcement however, small as it was, compelled Spinola to raise the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, and enabled Prince Maurice to support his brother Henry, whose head-quarters were at Breda, and whose troops occupied the greater portion of the Duchy of Brabant.

The Emperor having gained his point, in regard to the submission of Frederick, and that prince being left without a single friend, or ally, to defend him within the empire, it was considered no longer necessary to conceal the arrangements which had been determined upon, in regard to the Electorate. A diet was indicated at Ratisbon, to which the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and the

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A Diet meets at
Ratisbon A.D. 1623.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1623.

The Emperor deprives Frederic of the Electorate:

And gives it to the Duke of Bavaria.

Dukes of Brunswick, were specially invited; and when they met on the 7th of January, 1623, Ferdinand was at great pains to expose the causes which had led to the rebellion in Bohemia, and the measures he had been compelled to adopt to suppress it; as also to explain his reasons for declaring war against the Elector Palatine; the Duke of Brunswick, as Bishop of Halberstadt; the Count of Mansfeldt; the Marquis of Jagerdorf, and others, that had assisted the Elector. He declared, that as Frederick had been guilty of high treason, his rank and his states had fallen to the empire; but being unwilling that the Electoral college should be deprived of a member, he had transferred the forfeited dignity to Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, as a reward for his great and important services during the late campaigns; and he felt assured, he said, that all parties would approve of the choice he had made. The Catholics, for the most part, agreed to this change; but the Protestant princes and deputies represented it as both unjust and impolitic. They did not pretend to defend the conduct of Frederick, but having made every submission, and confessed

his error, it would, they asserted, be more becoming in a great and generous mind, to forgive than to continue to punish. Their remonstrances, however, failed to change his opinion; and Maximilian was formally proclaimed Elector Palatine, and received the investiture of that dignity from the hands of the Emperor, at the imperial palace.

Christian of Brunswick, during his recovery, had spent much of his time at the Hague, with his cousin, the Electress Queen, when, as says a late writer*, “ touched with her misfortunes, and the cheerfulness with which she rose above them, and indignant at the neglect she had experienced from her father, and her uncle, the King of Denmark, he suddenly seemed inspired by a sentiment of chivalrous devotion, as far removed from vulgar gallantry, as heroism is from ferocity. Snatching a glove from her hand, which he first raised to his lips with reverence, he placed it on his hat, and drawing his sword, took a solemn oath never to lay it down, until he had seen the King and Queen of Bohemia reinstated in the Palatinate.” He declared by the motto on his standard, that he

BOOK X.

A.D. 1623.

Private History of
Christian of Hal-
berstadt:

* Miss Benger.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1623.

undertook all for God and her; and his services being no longer required by the Prince of Orange, he proceeded to Germany, and with the aid of his cousin and godfather, Christian, Duke of Luneburg, he collected a considerable army in Lower Saxony, garrisoned the cities of Höxter, Hameln, and Rinteln, and marched with his cavalry into the cities of Hildersheim and Halberstadt. His brother, Frederick Ulrick, with whom he spent some days at Wolfenbittel, earnestly entreated him not to continue that species of civil war, which made him appear more like a leader of brigands than the head of a regular force. He offered him the command of the troops of the Circle, if he would promise only to act on the defensive. Christian agreed to accept of that command, and even consented to dismiss his mercenaries; but the Emperor no sooner received advice of his proceedings, than he despatched Tilly with a strong force, who entering the states of Brunswick, seized upon the castle of Friedland, which he pretended he would give up, as soon as Christian had quitted Lower Saxony with his troops.

Christian endeavoured to convince the mem-

bers of the Circle, that they acted wrong in allowing themselves to be amused and cajoled by the promises of the imperial court, and that they had more to dread from Ferdinand's apparent friendship, than from his enmity; but at the same time, that he might not be the cause of any misunderstanding between them and their sovereign, he not only quitted Lower Saxony, but actually resigned his bishoprick, that he might no longer be considered a member of the Circle. Such was his fame as a general, and his character as a man, that, at this moment, his army exceeded sixteen thousand infantry, and five thousand cavalry; and the younger sons of some of the most illustrious houses of Germany were proud to command their levies under him. When he quitted the Circle of Lower Saxony, his intention was to join the Prince of Orange; but General Tilly, not knowing whether his course would be directed towards the Palatinate, or towards the Netherlands, kept so close upon his rear, that he was greatly harassed, and had his march interrupted; under these circumstances, he determined to risk an action. He halted at Stadloo, in the Bishoprick of Munster, where

BOOK X.

A.D. 1623.

His exertions in favour of his cousins:

He leaves Lower Saxony:

BOOK X.

A.D. 1623.

Tilly, after driving in his out-posts, soon came up with him, and commenced the engagement, before he had time to make the necessary arrangements for battle.

Christian, finding that the Imperialists had been joined by the Prince of Anhalt, and that their united force was greatly superior to that under his command, endeavoured to escape. He passed over the river Honner, and continued his march, leaving Colonel Criphausen, and a body of infantry, to dispute the passage with Tilly; but the Colonel being obliged to give way, the enemy pursued him with such diligence, that his troops were completely dispersed, and more than four thousand of them slain. The Duke himself, and the young Count De la Tour, his aid-de-camp, were wounded, and with difficulty reached Befort, a place of safety, with three squadrons of cavalry. The whole of his artillery and baggage-wagons, with William, Prince of Saxe-Weimar, Frederick, Duke of Saxe-Altenburg, the Count of Isenberg, the Burgrave John Philip, the Counts of Witgenstein and Sehlen, with the Colonels Spee and May, and a number of other officers, fell into the hands of the enemy. Those that escaped, after-

Is pursued by General Tilly.

wards joined him at Befort, but the whole did not amount to more than ten thousand men. Six thousand of them were taken into the service of the States General of Holland, and the rest were discharged, when Christian himself left the Continent for England, and was magnificently received by King James, and invested with the order of the garter, as an acknowledgment of his services to the Electress Queen.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1623.

Duke Christian in
England:

Mansfeldt followed the Duke of Brunswick to the court of London, and these two princes succeeded in convincing the British cabinet of the necessity of doing something to reinstate Frederick in the Palatinate. Mansfeldt received a supply of money, to enable him to raise troops, and the King of Denmark was strongly importuned to take a part in the contest. Christian resigned his command of the Circle of Lower Saxony, and it was conferred on the Danish monarch; and the whole of the princes of the House of Brunswick, with the exception of the Duke of Luneburg, joined cordially in the effort about to be made in favour of the deposed Elector.

Count Mansfeldt follows Christian to England, and their success there.

The King of Denmark left Copenhagen, and

BOOK X.

A.D. 1623.

The King of Denmark in the field in Lower Saxony.

took the command of the army in Lower Saxony, where he was opposed by Tilly and Count Wallenstein, and supported by Christian of Brunswick and Count Mansfeldt, who had each a considerable body of mercenaries, raised in England and Holland, under their command. Horror and desolation, says the chronicle, spread themselves everywhere, and the whole country was not only ransacked and pillaged, but almost entirely ruined.

Tilly, after having made himself master of the city of Odendorf, laid siege to the castle of Calemberg, and that place having also capitulated, he advanced upon Hanover, but that city having accepted of a Danish garrison, escaped destruction. The King of Denmark, with a view to act more effectually against the Imperial force, divided his army into three corps; one of them, under Christian of Brunswick, was directed to take possession of the bishopricks of Hildesheim and Osnaburg; the other, under Mansfeldt, was to direct its movements chiefly against Wallenstein, and if possible, to force its way into Silesia; while the third, under his immediate command, was to confine its operations to the overthrow of Tilly. Great

hopes of success were entertained from this disposition of the Protestant forces, but the event soon proved that it was ill-calculated to support the common cause. Mansfeldt got possession of the province of Magdeburg, and from thence directed his course towards Silesia; but a strong body of the Imperialists, having possession of Dessau, in the principality of Anhalt, he found the passage of the Elbe disputed, and Wallenstein coming up with him, a battle ensued, in which he was so completely defeated, that he had some difficulty in escaping with a small body of cavalry. He at last reached the country for which he was destined, and collected a fresh army; but instead of being supported by Bethlen Gabor, as he had been led to expect, he found that that prince had made his peace with the Emperor. Being therefore left to his own resources, and broken-hearted and dispirited, he sought for refuge among the mountains of Hungary, where in a short time, his army, from disease and want of provisions, was speedily dissipated.

Mansfeldt wandered for some time, almost alone, among these mountains, when a slow fever, which began to consume his body, at last

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A.D. 1623.

Mansfeldt defeated
by Wallenstein :

Takes refuge in the
mountains of Hun-
gary :

BOOK X.

A.D. 1626.

His death :

And history.

obliged him to halt at Zara, a village on the confines of Dalmatia, and there he ended his days, in the fortieth year of his age.

Ernest, Count of Mansfeldt, was a natural son of Peter Ernest, sovereign Prince of the county of Mansfeldt, in the Electorate of Saxony. He was born while his father was Governor of Luxemburg, in the Low Countries, and being legitimized, was educated at the court of Brussels, under the care of the Archduke Ernest, his relation. Born in some measure to arms, he served his first campaigns with the Spanish troops in the Netherlands, and the Emperor in Hungary. Believing that his services entitled him to some reward, he is said to have solicited from Rudolph, the government of a place that had become vacant; but being denied this, his first request, he no longer condescended to ask for any favour, and, in 1610, left the court of Vienna, and joined the Protestant union. He is represented as one of the greatest captains Germany ever produced,—intrepid in danger, and indefatigable in pursuing his plans. He was always calm in the heat of action, and proved himself a hero even in defeat. He knew how to accommodate him-

self to circumstances, and could find resources where others gave every thing up as lost. The ideas which he had formed of true heroism gave him the complete command of his passions.

On one occasion it is reported, that he discovered that one of his captains, who possessed his confidence, had betrayed his designs to the enemy. He sent for this captain to his tent, and presenting him with three hundred rix-dollars, gave him a letter, addressed to the commander of the enemy's force, which contained these words:—"The bearer being an affectionate servant of yours, I send him to you, that you may take advantage of his services." On another occasion, he discovered that an apothecary had been bribed to poison him. He had the assassin brought before him, and mildly said, "My friend, I can scarcely believe that a person to whom I have never done an injury should be desirous of taking away my life; if it is want that has driven you to think of such an act, here is plenty of money for you, go in peace, and become an honest man." Such are some of the traits of character of this interesting individual, who, at the same time, was greedy in amassing wealth, and permitted

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his troops to commit every species of barbarity in the countries he invaded. His death was a serious loss to the Protestant cause, and it was found that the void he had left in the army was not easily to be filled up. When Mansfeldt found his last hour approaching, he caused himself to be arrayed in the dress he usually wore in battle, and carried in front of the few troops that had remained attached to his person. In a feeble voice, he thanked them for their attachment, commended their zeal, and earnestly exhorted them to persevere in the cause they had undertaken, until the liberties of Germany were secured. From this scene he was carried to his couch, where in a few moments he died as he had lived, a hero and a soldier.

The Imperialists besiege Nienburg.

The Imperialists under Tilly had undertaken the siege of Nienburg, which was reckoned a place of importance, and therefore the King of Denmark was at great pains to preserve it. He succeeded in throwing in supplies of men and ammunition, which gave spirit to the garrison, and at last obliged the enemy to decamp. At this time, George of Luneburg held a command in the imperial army, and was zealous in supporting the measures of Count Tilly. He

Zeal and success of George of Luneburg in the Imperial cause.

conducted an enterprise against Plaga, a place of strength, on the other side of the river Havelle, and succeeded in taking it with very little loss, and was most active in taking possession of the Electorate of Brandenburg. Under pretence of cutting off the retreat of the Danes, and making his way into Holstein, he obliged the King to send a strong detachment of his army to protect that country, which gave Tilly an opportunity of securing many places in Westphalia, and enabled him to detach a reinforcement to the siege of Northeim, which in a short time surrendered. This, with other conquests, gave him an opportunity of throwing a bridge over the Elbe, and allowed him to get possession of that communication which the Danes had established in the neighbourhood of Basemburg, a town, garrisoned and bravely defended by a corps of Scotch mercenaries, but the commander dreading the overwhelming numbers which Tilly had it then in his power to bring against them, he abandoned it, and retired to a place of greater security.

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Frederick Ulrick, whose states began to suffer severely, and who himself had taken no decided part in the war, now exerted himself to

Frederick Ulrick endeavours to bring about a peace:

BOOK X. bring about a peace. He not only pledged his
 A.D. 1626. own fidelity to the Emperor, but undertook to

And to pacify Duke procure the allegiance of his brother, Christian.
 Christian:

He knew not, however, the determined constancy of that gallant brother; and although a free pardon and an accumulation of honours were offered, and pressed upon his attention by the apparent ruin that threatened his father's house, and the tears and entreaties of his

Who disdains to submit: widowed mother, Christian disdained all submission to the tyrant, and would not consent to disband his army, or relinquish the cause of his cousin. He saw his brother, and his only parent, compelled to abandon for a time the palace of his ancestors, and to accept of an asylum in Holstein,—not unmoved it is true, yet his stern virtue was superior to the feelings of common mortals. He consigned to the flames the document that contained his pardon, and exclaimed, that he denied the authority of

His defiance, and resolution never to lay down his arms: the King of Denmark, defied all recreants, and swore again, never to lay down his arms, until the King and Queen of Bohemia were restored to the Palatinate.

Frederick Ulrick, and his mother, retired from Wolfenbüttel, which, at the request of the

King of Denmark, he left in the hands of Christian. Another attempt was made to detach him from the interests of Frederick and Elizabeth, but all their efforts failed, and hostilities continued between him and Tilly, without any cessation.

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Christian, in possession of Wolfenbüttel, made an attempt to secure Goslar, but though foiled in that attempt, he was successful in recovering Northeim, Gottingen, and Münden, and would have carried his victories farther, had not death arrested his steps. He was attacked by a fever, brought on by fatigue and aggravated by neglect, and died at Wolfenbüttel on the 6th of July, 1626, when scarcely more than twenty-seven years of age.

He continues the war :

But is carried off by a fever :

Christian, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel, and Bishop or Administrator of Halberstadt, was a prince of great and singular talents, and possessed of many amiable and distinguishing virtues. His character has been ably drawn by a late writer*, but if his full length portrait in Hampton Court Palace bears any resemblance to the original (and it was taken while the prince was in England), we should be in-

His character

* Miss Benger's *Memoirs of Elizabeth Stuart*, &c.

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duced to describe his person a little differently. Mansfeldt was a much greater man in point of ability, but he wanted that high feeling and elevated sense of honour which belonged to the Duke of Brunswick, and which seem to be hereditary in the blood of the Guelphs. As long as Mansfeldt and Christian lived, and declared themselves the champions of the Elector Palatine, the contest may be said to have been betwixt Ferdinand and Frederick, though the theatre of the war had been for some time in the Circle of Lower Saxony and Westphalia, but when they disappeared from the scene, it became a struggle between liberty and tyranny, between Catholic despotism and Protestant freedom.

Almost immediately after Christian's decease, Tilly attacked and carried Münden by storm, and obliged Gottingen to surrender, after a short siege. He then bent his march upon Northeim, and had commenced its blockade, when the King of Denmark hastened to its relief, and obliged him to retire to the neighbourhood of Gottingen. George of Luneburg, who held a high rank in the imperial army, joined Tilly on this occasion, and

their force being superior to that of Denmark, they returned to attack the King, and obliged him to retreat upon Wolfenbüttel. The gallant bands of the Duke of Wolfenbüttel were mingled with the Danish force, but the general who had so lately led them to victory was now no more. The King finding himself so harassed and intercepted in his retreat, made a stand near the village of Lutter, in the Principality of Brunswick, about two leagues from Goslar; and as Tilly and the Luneburg troops soon came up with him, no time was lost in preparing for a general action. The Brunswick legions attacked with a fierceness that overcame all opposition, and four regiments of the Imperial cavalry were routed and driven from the field at the very commencement of the battle. The Danes also under the eye of their sovereign, maintained the contest with great bravery, and victory for awhile hovered over the standard of Denmark. But Tilly's fortunate star was still in the ascendant, and after a long and sanguinary struggle, the Danes and their allies were driven from the field, and obliged to seek refuge within the walls of Wolfenbüttel. The King of Denmark had three horses killed under

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The battle of Lutter.

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him during the action. He lost a number of men and officers, and his army was so weakened that, after a siege of some weeks, he was obliged to surrender the city to the Imperialists. Finding himself no longer able to keep the field, he retired to his own dominions, and left the imperial arms everywhere triumphant.

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Frederick Ulrick, and the other princes of Brunswick, formally renounced the Protestant confederation, and submitted to the Emperor; whilst the Duke of Lorraine and the Duke of Wirtemberg tried by negotiation to obtain some mitigation of the sentence pronounced against the exiled Elector; but Ferdinand stood on too high ground, to make any concession; he saw himself master of the continent, and the princes of the empire, either through respect or fear subservient to his will, and therefore haughtily rejected all the overtures that were made on the part of Frederick's friends.

The Catholic party
triumphant.

The Catholic party at Vienna began to talk openly of their ulterior views, and did not hesitate to announce the downfall of Protestantism as near at hand. Wallenstein, who had been created Duke of Friedland, boasted that the Electors would soon be reduced to the

rank of ordinary princes, that they ought only to be considered upon the same footing as the grandees of Spain, and that the crown of Germany should be fixed unalienably in the house of Austria. Alarmed at these reports, the princes of the empire began to tremble for their individual existence, and several of them had recourse to France; but the cunning policy of that court gave them little hope of any effectual support. The King of Denmark, indeed, continued in arms, but after a time he agreed to a treaty of peace; and the arms of Austria being called for in Italy, to settle a dispute about the Duchy of Mantua, the continent was allowed for a short period to enjoy repose.

While Ferdinand was employed in the South, an edict was issued from Vienna, commanding the Protestants instantly to deliver up to the Catholics all the ecclesiastical benefices and states of which the latter had been dispossessed since the treaty of Passau. The consternation which this edict excited may easily be conceived, and the rigour with which Wallenstein executed the orders of his master soon roused the dormant spirit of the Protestant Union. The Elector of Saxony, in parti-

BOOK X.

A.D. 1628.

A.D. 1629.

The Edict of Restitution published.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1629.

The Protestants remonstrate.

cular, felt greatly offended by the conduct of the Emperor and his general. He immediately withdrew from his alliance with the house of Austria, and joined the states that adhered to the confession of Augsburg. A meeting of the Protestants was held at Heidelberg, a remonstrance transmitted to the Emperor, requiring him to recall the "Edict of Restitution," and a treaty was signed, by which they bound themselves to support each other against any further encroachments of the imperial power. It was at this meeting that the first proposal was made for calling in the aid of the King of Sweden, and their correspondence was managed with so much secrecy, that the Emperor remained perfectly ignorant of its existence.

Ferdinand, in the meantime, called a diet of the empire at Ratisbon, and in that diet met with more opposition than he had calculated upon. The Catholics as well as the Protestants had become alarmed for their respective privileges, and seemed determined to abridge his power. They told him plainly that he had no authority whatever to dispose of the estates of the church, and that their protection was all

that had been granted him. He tried to cajole the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, by promising that the consideration of the Edict of Restitution should be referred to another diet, which he intended to assemble in the following year. But these princes informed him, that before they would consent to any terms, or give him any hopes of their support, in regard to the election of his son, as King of the Romans, which was the object he had most at heart, he must in the first place disband his army; while the Duke of Bavaria insisted that he should remove Wallenstein from the command, as his conduct had excited universal disgust throughout the empire. Their advice was not at all relished by the Emperor, but he judged it prudent to comply, and Wallenstein was dismissed. The Duke of Bavaria expected to succeed him, but in this he was disappointed, as Tilly was declared generalissimo.

Charles I. now occupied the throne of England, and anxious for the welfare of his brother-in-law, sent an ambassador to the diet at Ratisbon, but the Emperor was immovable on that point, and the representations of the English statesmen passed unnoticed. During the sitting

BOOK X.

A.D. 1630.

Wallenstein dismissed from the command of the Imperialists.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1631.

The King of Sweden
invades Germany :

of the diet, the Emperor received a declaration of war from the King of Sweden.

The great Gustavus, invited by the Protestants, and encouraged by Francis, had already determined on the invasion of Germany, and with the rapidity that characterized all his movements, followed his declaration at the head of sixteen regiments of horse, and ninety-two companies of infantry.

The Catholics, in alarm, tried to secure the aid of the Protestants, and a meeting was held at Frankfort ; but Tilly, in the interval, having got possession of the city of Magdeburg, behaved with so much cruelty, that the princes of the union retired in disgust from that meeting. From Magdeburg, Tilly advanced upon Leipzig, which so enraged the Elector of Saxony, that he at once declared in favour of Gustavus. The King for some time had doubted the sincerity of the Elector, but when convinced that his suspicions were groundless, he hastened his advance, and in an action under the walls of the city, routed and dispersed the imperial force. Tilly retired upon his garrisons in Halberstadt, Wolfenbüttel, and Hameln ; Bannier, however, had been left with a force

in the rear, and drove the enemy from Magdeburg, and Halberstadt, and being supported by Frederick Ulrick, and Duke George of Luneburg, (who had joined the cause of religion and liberty,) the greater portion of the states of Brunswick were immediately taken under the protection of the King of Sweden.

Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, a distinguished leader under Gustavus, took Gottingen by storm, while Duke George made preparations for re-conquering the castle of Calenberg. In this, however, he was foiled, by the advance of Pappenheim, with a powerful army, and compelled to retire into the province of Grubenhagen, and from thence to Eichfeldt, where he subdued the fortress of Duderstadt. Wolfenbüttel, the capital of Frederick Ulrick's states, had been held by a part of Tilly's army ever since the retreat of the Danes, and a powerful effort was now made to recover it, but the garrison being reinforced by General Groenfeldt, the Swedes were driven from the siege.

After the death of Gustavus, who fell in the memorable battle of Lutzen, Bernard of Saxe-Weimar succeeded to the command of the confederate army, and George, Duke of Luneburg,

BOOK X.

A.D. 1631.

Duke George of
Luneburg joins the
Swedes.

Death of Gustavus,
16th of November,
A.D. 1632.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1632.

The Duke of Lüne-
burg commands in
Lower Saxony.

headed a considerable independent force in Lower Saxony and Westphalia, where his cousin, Frederick Ulrick, served under him in person.

The unfortunate Elector, for whose interests the war had commenced in Bohemia, and against whom it had been transferred into Germany, did not long survive his last champion, the great Gustavus; but the Duke of Weimar and the Duke of Brunswick had undertaken to maintain the liberties of Germany, and support the Protestant Establishment. The latter had great success against the enemy, and not only defeated Groenfeldt, but, in a general action near Oldendorf, took Count Merode prisoner, with upwards of seven thousand of his men, and the whole of his baggage and artillery. This victory put him in possession of Hameln, Pymont, and Osnaburg, and enabled the Duke of Wolfenbüttel to recover Peine and Calemberg.

Oxenstiern, the Chancellor of Sweden, after the death of his master, renewed the league which existed between his court and France, and entered into a new alliance with the princes of Brunswick and those of the Upper and

Lower Rhine; and under his direction, the arrangements for opening the campaign of 1634 were settled in a meeting at Halberstadt. The city of Brunswick was fixed upon as a place of arms, and the utmost exertions were to be made to reduce Wolfenbüttel, and the other places which the Imperialists still held in the circle of Lower Saxony.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1633.

Duke George was continued in the command of the army, and early in the spring, he commenced his operations. Having succeeded in recovering the towns of Soest, Coesfeldt, Lunen, and others in Westphalia, he sat down before the city of Hildesheim. A detachment of cavalry from the bishoprick of Munster attempted to relieve that city, but having been attacked and defeated, Hildesheim, very soon afterwards, surrendered, and he was enabled to commence the blockade of Wolfenbüttel. During the siege of this important fortress, its sovereign prince had the misfortune to break his leg; the accident was badly treated, and his constitution being greatly impaired by the fatigues he had lately undergone, a fever ensued, and after languishing for six weeks, death put

Continuation of the
war :Death of Frederick
Ulrick :

BOOK X.

A.D. 1638.

His character.

a period to his existence, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

Frederick Ulrick was the last of the descendants of Henry, the youngest son of Magnus Torquatus, and his ancestor had succeeded to the duchy of Brunswick in 1409. He married, in 1614, a princess of the House of Brandenburg, but as he left no issue, his states devolved upon the descendants of Ernest the Confessor, and were inherited by Augustus, the youngest son of Henry of Danneberg.

Duke George continues the siege of Wolfenbüttel:

Duke George, after his cousin's decease, continued the blockade of Wolfenbüttel, but the Swedes having lost ground in Upper Germany, the Protestants became disunited, and the Elector of Saxony deserted their cause. He concluded a treaty with the Emperor at Prague, which opened a door for the reconciliation of other princes, and eventually led to a general peace. The Duke of Luneburg was particularly invited to accede to this treaty, and though he hesitated for a time, and seemed disposed to adhere to the Swedes, his scruples were overruled by the other branches of his family, and he laid down his arms. During the period that

he seemed to be in doubt, Oxenstiern had tampered with his troops, and had succeeded in gaining fourteen regiments from his standard. He complained loudly of this underhand conduct, and it was probably one great cause of his acceding to the treaty of Prague. By that treaty, the imperial garrison was to be removed from Wolfenbüttel, and Augustus put into full possession of the principality; but as the Swedes now turned their arms against the territories of Luneburg, George was obliged to take the field against his late allies, and a desultory warfare was kept up, which the Imperialists laid hold of, as a pretence for keeping possession of Wolfenbüttel and other places. After the death of the Emperor Ferdinand, this war was put an end to by the princes agreeing to remain neuter; yet, as their neutrality did not prevent the Swedes from levying contributions, nor the Imperialists from exacting supplies, their subjects were nearly as much harassed as during the period that hostilities existed; and as their fortresses were not given up by the garrisons of the contending parties, George, and his cousin Augustus, determined to renounce their adherence to the treaty,

BOOK X.

A.D. 1638.

But is induced to
accede to the peace
of Prague:

Defends his states
against the Swedes:

BOOK X.

A.D. 1639.

which it was found had contributed little to the tranquillity of Germany.

But is obliged to remonstrate against the Emperor also :

Under the mediation of Augustus, now Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel, and the eldest prince of the House of Guelph, a meeting was held at Hildesheim, 1639, and the subject of a general peace minutely canvassed by all the members of the Protestant union. Ministers were sent by the two princes, to remonstrate, in the imperial diet held at Nuremberg, against the occupation of Wolfenbüttel by the army of Tilly, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty acceded to ; as also to object to their being called upon to deliver up the bishoprick of Hildesheim, which had been demanded, under the terms of the celebrated Edict of Restitution. The Emperor seemed to pay little attention to these remonstrances ; an army was sent to take possession of the bishoprick, but Duke George having received intelligence of their movements, renounced his adherence to the treaty of Prague, and once more joining the Swedes, they were reinforced by a body of Hessians, and he found himself in a condition to oppose their advance.

Again joins the Swedes :

The Imperialists seized upon Höxter, and

crossing the Weser, got possession of Steinbrück ; George immediately marched upon that city, and having dislodged the enemy, recovered Lilienburg, Schladen, Hessendam, and Westerbürg, and obliged them to retire upon Wolfenbüttel. He then commenced the blockade of that capital. His army was numerous, and well disciplined, and when the blockade was converted into a siege, he had every prospect of carrying the place in a very short time ; but when the enemy found he could not prevail by open hostilities and honourable war, he had recourse to secret intrigue and private assassination.

A Catholic monk found means to insinuate himself into the good graces of several of the leaders of the Protestant army, and during a feast given by General Bannier, he contrived to mix poison with the wine which was drank at table. Duke George was one of the guests, and partook of the poisoned cup, but though not of sufficient quantity to prove fatal at the time, it had a visible effect upon his constitution, and his health began to decline. The fatigue which it was necessary to undergo, during this second blockade of Wolfenbüttel,

BOOK X.

A.D. 1640.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1641.

Death of Duke
George :

aggravated his complaints, and confined him to his couch, and as success began to attend his operations, his friends saw with regret that his end was approaching. He lingered indeed for several months, but on the 9th of April, 1641, he breathed his last, at his quarters in the camp, in the 59th year of his age. His remains were conveyed to Celle, where his tomb of black marble is still to be seen in the high choir of the principal church.

Private annals of
Duke George :

When William the Younger was on his death bed, he called his seven sons around him, and in the presence of their sorrowing mother, exacted from them a promise, that they would not divide the states of Luneburg. He pointed out, from the history of their own family, the ruin which such a division would produce, and exhorted them, as they valued their respectability and importance in the empire, to submit to the rule of the elder brother during his life. The princes, moved by the advice of their respected father, took an oath to abide by his council; and to obviate all disputes about their future succession, they further agreed, that only one of their number should be allowed to marry. They drew lots, to ascertain which of

them it should be, and as it was in favour of George, he selected a Princess of Hesse Darmstadt,—Anne Eleanor, the daughter of the Landgrave Louis V., and they were married on the 14th of December, 1617. By this princess, he left four sons, and four daughters.

Ernest, the elder brother of Duke George, in terms of the agreement made with his family, succeeded his father in 1592. He had studied with his brother Augustus, at the University of Wittemberg, and was distinguished for his learning; but he died, as we have stated, in 1611, and was succeeded in the government by his next brother, Christian.

This prince, in the chronicles of his time, has often been confounded with the gallant young Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel;—they were of the same name, Dukes of Brunswick, &c., and also bishops; the one of Minden, and the other of Halberstadt; but they were of very different characters: the one preferring the peace and happiness of his subjects to the perils of war, resided quietly in his castle at Celle, and mingled but little in the turmoil that surrounded him; while the other, from earliest infancy, delighted in war, and died a victim to

BOOK X.

A.D. 1641.

His family:

Ernest:

His brother Christian:

BOOK X.

A.D. 1641.

Augustus :

Frederick .

Magnus and John

the toils of the field. Christian of Luneburg left the chief management of all public business and the command of his troops to his younger brother George, and passed his life as tranquilly as the circumstances of the times would allow him. He died childless, in 1633, and the chief rule at Luneburg devolved upon Augustus, the next in succession. Augustus was also of a quiet and literary turn of mind, and took no part in the troubles which agitated the empire. In his youth, he had travelled much, and served for some time in France, with the army of the King of Navarre, Henry IV. He was elected Bishop of Ratisbon, and on the death of Frederick Ulrick, inherited the principality of Calenberg, but his health being infirm, he resigned the government of his whole states to his brother Frederick. This prince was advanced in life, when he became the reigning sovereign. In 1642, he succeeded to the state of Harburg, by the death of his cousin, Duke William, and lived to see the end of that calamitous war which had so long devastated the provinces of the empire. He died in 1648, and was the last survivor of the seven princes of Luneburg. Of the younger

brothers, Magnus and John, no record has been preserved ; the first died in February, 1632, and the last in January, 1629, and they were both buried in the same tomb with their father and brothers, under the choir of the town church at Celle.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1641.

The siege of Wolfenbüttel was still carried on by the troops of Luneburg, commanded by Christian Louis, the eldest son of Duke George, under the direction of Augustus, the Sovereign of Brunswick ; and the garrison was so much pressed, that the Archduke Leopold, who commanded in the Palatinate, was obliged to march to its relief. Augustus's army was reinforced by the Swedes under General Bannier ; but the Archduke being anxious to free the city from the effects of the siege, engaged the besiegers in their own trenches. The Imperialists, however, were driven back into the city, and after a loss of more than four thousand men, the Archduke was obliged to leave the place, having thrown in what remained of his force, as an addition to the garrison.

Christian Louis, the eldest son of Duke George, succeeds his father in the command of his army.

Six thousand Hessians joined Duke Augustus and the Swedes immediately after their victory over the Archduke, and the siege was

BOOK X.

A.D. 1641.

Siege of Wolfenbüt-
tel continued :

continued with more activity than ever. The current of the river Ocker was turned into the city, its course stopped, and the country inundated. The water had risen many feet in the market-place ; the foundations of the houses were giving way, and the imperial commander was on the point of surrendering, when Augustus (whose chief object was to obtain a durable peace) visited the Archduke, then encamped at Saldern, and commenced a negotiation, which put an end to hostilities between the Emperor and the princes of Brunswick and Luneburg, though not to the war between Ferdinand III. and the crown of Sweden. A treaty was agreed upon at Goslar, by which Augustus and the Dukes of Luneburg bound themselves to withdraw their troops from the Swedish army, and to deliver up the bishoprick of Hildesheim to the Archbishop of Cologne; while the Emperor, on his part, engaged to withdraw all his forces from Eimbeck, Wolfenbüttel, and the other garrisons which he held in the states of Brunswick.

He at last makes
peace with the Em-
peror.

By a subordinate treaty between these princes and the Archbishop, Hildesheim was surrendered to that prelate, but the Imperialists

shewed no desire to evacuate the strong places they were in possession of. A day was at last fixed, when Wolfenbüttel was to be given up; but, on that very day, two expresses were intercepted, with orders from the Court of Vienna, to the commander, to find some pretence for still keeping possession. Augustus, suspecting the nature of the despatches conveyed by these expresses, delayed their delivery until the Imperialists had quitted his capital and his own troops had obtained possession, and by this manœuvre he succeeded.

Before he came to the succession, as sovereign of the country, Brunswick had fallen into the hands of the Emperor; and notwithstanding that its evacuation had formed an article in two treaties, it was only effected by this stratagem, after having been for upwards of sixteen years under the dominion of a foreign garrison.

When the capital was secured, the other places were given up as a matter of course, and the whole duchy of Brunswick and Luneburg was relieved from the presence of the imperial troops. An effort was also made to get rid of the Swedes; but as Oxenstiern and his generals paid little attention to the complaints or remon-

BOOK X.

A.D. 1643.

Wolfenbüttel evacuated by the Imperialists.

The Swedes remain in possession of several towns.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1646.

The Dukes of
Brunswick send an
embassy to the
Queen of Sweden.

stances which were preferred ; an embassy was sent to Queen Christina, to congratulate her on having taken the regency into her own hands, and to entreat that her troops might be withdrawn from the garrisons which they occupied in Brunswick and Luneburg. All they could obtain, however, was an order for the garrison of Hoya to be withdrawn, and the fortifications of that place destroyed. The Queen declared, that while the war continued, she must keep possession of every place in her power ; but as some recompense to the subjects of the duchy, she granted them a free trade on the Weser, and allowed their merchandise to be introduced into Sweden without payment of duty.

We cannot enter further into the details of the war, which was still continued for two years, but the exhausted treasuries of the contending powers, at last obliged them to think seriously of putting an end to so protracted a contest. Plenipotentiaries from the Emperor, from France, and from Sweden, were despatched into Westphalia, and to obviate all matters of dispute about precedency between the latter crowns, it was agreed, that the ministers

of the one should remain at Münster, while those of the other resided at Osnabrück, and though each was treated with, in some measure, separately, the treaty agreed upon included all parties, and was published as the Peace of Westphalia.

The Dukes of Brunswick and Luneburg had their ministers at this congress; but in the general arrangements which were concluded upon by the treaty of Münster, these princes rather lost than gained. They were deprived forever of the bishoprick of Hildesheim, and of the coadjutorships of Magdeburg, Bremen, Halberstadt, and Ratzburg, and only got in return the alternate succession to the see of Osnaburg; a confirmation to the Provostship of the Convent of Walkenried; the monastery of Gröeningen, and the patronage of the first two prebendaries that should fall vacant in the bishoprick of Strasburg; while all things, in respect to religion, were placed on the same footing as they were on the 1st of January, 1624.

We are now arrived at the era of a new generation, for of the thirteen princes that were alive at the commencement of the war, only two,—Augustus of Brunswick and Frederick of Luneburg, lived to see its end. The latter died

BOOK X.

A.D. 1648.

Arrangements made for a treaty of peace; which is signed at Münster and Osnaburg:

The articles which applied to Brunswick and Luneburg.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1649.

Princes of Brunswick at this period.

Duke George first rules at Hanover.

in the same year that the peace was concluded, when the States of Luneburg devolved upon the sons of Duke George, who at this period were Frederic Louis, George William, John Frederic, and Ernest Augustus. By the will of Duke George, which had been confirmed and ratified by his brother Frederic, the states of Luneburg were divided into two sovereign principalities, —Celle and Hanover, or Luneburg and Calenberg, and the eldest son was to have his choice: Christian Louis, the eldest, therefore, on the death of his uncle, removed to Celle; while George William, the second son, fixed his court at Hanover.

From the moment that the House of Luneburg acquired the principality of Calenberg on the death of Frederick Ulrick in 1634, Duke George had made Hanover the residence of his family. He had built a splendid ducal palace within its walls, had laid the foundation of a new town, and had improved and embellished much of the old one. It wanted, indeed, the associations connected with the antiquity of Celle and Luneburg, but was nothing inferior, as a princely residence, to either of these ancient cities.

While his uncle Frederick lived, Christian

Louis remained at Hanover, but when Frederic died, he removed his residence to Celle, and left his brother, George William, at Hanover; and the latter employed the few years of tranquillity that followed the peace of Westphalia, in carrying on the improvements which his father and brother had commenced, and in causing to be erected several public buildings, which added greatly to the beauty of that city.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1649.

We have, therefore, at this period, 1st. Augustus, Duke of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel, the only remaining prince of the former generation. 2nd. Christian Louis, Duke of Lüneburg at Celle, and 3rd. George William, Duke of Calenberg or Hanover. John Frederick and Ernest Augustus, the younger sons of Duke George, remained without any appanage,—the one in expectation of the first of the principalities that should become vacant, and the other as the certain heir to the Bishoprick of Osnaburg, settled upon him by the late treaty of peace.

Augustus.

Christian Louis,
Duke of Celle;
George William,
Duke of Hanover;
John Frederick;
Ernest Augustus.

Augustus, as the head of the Brunswick family, took the lead in all the political discussions that agitated the empire after the signing and ratification of the treaty of Münster, and

Augustus, the eldest
Prince of the Family;

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A.D. 1649.

Christian Louis, the
next in rank :

His annals :

Changes produced
by his death.Death of Augustus.
A.D. 1666.His character and
family :

was ably assisted by Christian Louis, a prince of more than ordinary abilities, and as the eldest born of the House of Luneburg, of high rank among the princes of Europe ; but as he was of a delicate constitution, and courted retirement, he is seldom mentioned in general history, and his private annals are confined to a few remarks on the justice with which he administered the government, and the care he bestowed on repairing some of the fortresses that had been destroyed during the war.

Christian Louis married, in 1653, a Princess of Holstein Gluckstadt, but had no issue, and at his death in 1665, George William succeeded him at Celle, and John Frederick, the next brother, became sovereign of Hanover.

In the year following, Augustus, the venerable Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel, ended his days, and left his states to be divided amongst his surviving sons, — Rudolph Augustus, Anthony Ulrick, and Ferdinand Albert. This distinguished sovereign prince, born in 1579, had reached his eighty-seventh year. The

early part of his life was spent in the obscure retreat of Hitzacker, a strong castle on the Elbe ; but, in 1638, he succeeded to the ter-

ritories of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel, and in 1642, on the death of William, Duke of Harburg, became the head of the Brunswick family. He held a distinguished rank among the princes of the empire, and was a prominent member of the Germanic confederation. He was thrice married, first to Clara, a Princess of Pomerania; secondly, to Dorothea, of Anhalt Zerbst; and lastly, to Sophia Elizabeth, a Princess of Mecklenburg. By the two last he had eight children,—five sons, and three daughters, but only three of the former survived him. He devoted much of his early life to travelling in foreign countries, and being fond of collecting books, formed a library at Hitzacker, which was afterwards transferred to Wolfenbüttel, and soon became one of the most celebrated in Europe.

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A.D. 1666.

In the division of the Brunswick states, which took place at his death, his eldest son, Rudolph Augustus, got Brunswick and its territories; Anthony Ulrick, Wolfenbüttel; and Ferdinand Albert, the small principality of Bevern. Rudolph left no male issue, and at his death in 1704, was succeeded by his next brother, Anthony Ulrick, who left two sons, Augustus William, and Louis Rudolph; the first suc-

How his states were divided:

BOOK X.

A.D. 1666.

ceeded to the states of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel, and the last became Duke of Blankenburg, but as neither of these princes left any male issue, the whole of their states were inherited by the descendants of Ferdinand Albert, Duke of Bevern.

Some notice of his
descendants.

In concluding the annals of this branch of the family, we have only to observe, that this last-mentioned prince married, in 1667, Christina, the daughter of Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse-Eichwege, and had seven sons and two daughters; that two of these sons, Ferdinand Albert II. and Ernest Ferdinand, divided the states of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel, and formed two lines, which continued distinct for more than a century.

Ferdinand Albert II. inherited the whole of the duchy of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel, at the death of his cousins Augustus William and Louis Rudolphus, and Ernest Ferdinand got the small territory of Bevern. The former married Amelia, the youngest daughter of the Duke of Blankenburg, and was succeeded in 1733 by his eldest son, Charles; this prince married Philippine Charlotte, daughter of William I., King of Prussia, and was succeeded, in

1780, by his eldest son, Charles William Ferdinand, who married, in 1764, Augusta, daughter of Frederick, Prince of Wales, the granddaughter of George II., King of England, and sister of George III., and at his death in 1806, he left the states of Brunswick to his youngest son, Frederick William, the father of the present reigning Duke, Charles William Ferdinand, born the 30th of October, 1804.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1666.

Returning from this digression, we again commence the history of the princes of the House of Hanover. George William was absent in France, when his elder brother died, in 1665, and though, in terms of his father's settlement, he had a right to make his selection, John Frederick, his next brother, was induced to seize upon the vacant principality. The conduct of this prince had nearly led to a civil war, but through the intervention of friends, and the mediation of their youngest brother, Ernest Augustus, who in 1660 had succeeded to the bishoprick of Osnaburg, matters were amicably arranged. George William removed to Celle, and John Frederick was established at Hanover.

Annals of the House
of Hanover Proper.

Though the north of Europe was occasionally

BOOK X.

A.D. 1672.

disturbed, by the inroads of the Swedes, and a partial warfare amongst some of the minor states, there was no general armament, till the ambition of Louis XIV. led him to claim the sovereignty of the Austrian or Spanish Netherlands, in right of his queen, Maria Theresa, Infanta of Spain. The triple alliance however of England, Sweden, and Holland, defeated his intention, and it was not till 1672, when by having broken up that alliance, and secured the assistance of England, and some of the German provinces, particularly the Bishop of Osnaburg, to whom he paid a subsidy of four thousand crowns per month, that he found himself in a condition to attack the Dutch confederacy. But George William, on this occasion, thought proper to support the United Provinces, and for that purpose, in conjunction with Rudolph Augustus, Duke of Brunswick, he concluded an alliance with the states-general of Holland, and engaged to furnish a force of fourteen thousand men, which the Duke of Luneburg undertook to command in person.

The Dukes of Hanover and Celle oppose the French:

The Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Elector of Brandenburg, agreed also to support Holland, and the war became general. George

William, at the head of his troops crossed the Rhine, and entering the Palatinate, pursued his way to Alsace, where in the neighbourhood of Engelheim, the imperial army under the command of the Duke of Bonnonville, which he had joined, had a smart action with the French, under the command of Field Marshal Turenne. Neither party could claim any victory; but the Luneburg troops, under the eye of their prince, distinguished themselves greatly, and contributed principally to its becoming a drawn battle. As the season was far advanced, both armies went into winter-quarters after this battle.

Early in the spring, the Duke of Luneburg was reinforced by a corps of five thousand men, under the command of his brother, the Bishop of Osnaburg, who had quarrelled with France; and as soon as the season would admit, he passed the Rhine at Cologne, and advanced upon the Meuse, with an intention of succouring the Prince of Orange, in the Netherlands. But that prince judging it more prudent that he should make a diversion on the Moselle, he was directed by the States-general, to move in the direction of Treves, where the enemy had a garrison of six thousand

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men. His army on its march was joined by a body of imperial troops, and having now a force of sufficient strength, he laid siege to the city. The Marshal Crequey, commanded the French army in that district, and hastened to the relief of the besieged, but he was met in his advance by the army of the empire, under the Duke of Luneburg, and a general action ensued.

Battle near Treves,
gained by George
William :

George William, in preparing for battle, gave the command of his right wing to the Marquis de Graun ; that of the left to Count Lippe, and the centre was reserved for the Duke of Holstein. The Duke of Lorraine joined immediately before the action commenced.

The Marquis de Graun began by attacking the enemy's left, where there was an eminence of some importance, which the French had failed to take possession of. De Graun detached several regiments, with orders to secure that eminence, but his intention being perceived by the Count de la Marck, he marched a strong body of his infantry in the same direction ; a severe struggle took place between these two parties, both contending for the same spot, but the French were at last driven back, and their leader, La Marck,

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being killed, the object of contest remained with the Germans. The right wing of the allies suffered more than the left. The cavalry of Celle gave way on the first charge, but the Baron de Haak, with the guards of Osnaburg, succeeded in checking the pursuit of the enemy, and enabled the Duke to rally the fugitives, and to bring them back to the field, when, ashamed of their former conduct, they fought with great bravery. In the meantime, Count Lippe had turned the right flank of the French, and thrown their cavalry into confusion, and, in a short time, the infantry began to give way, and the route became general. Never was victory more decisive; their artillery, ammunition, and baggage-waggon, were all taken, and every general officer either killed or wounded. Crequey himself escaped into a wood on the side of Sarbruck, and from thence made his way to Treves. The army of the Duke of Luneburg suffered severely, but it was speedily reinforced, and he returned to the siege.

Treves is represented as having been badly fortified, but, through the bravery of Crequey, it sustained a siege of three weeks, which, against

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And siege of that city.

any other commander, would have terminated in three days. The garrison had dwindled down to fifteen hundred men: still the Marquis refused to capitulate; but their situation was now so hopeless, that they entered into terms themselves, and obtained leave to retire from the place. After the capture of Treves, and the surrender of Marshal de Crequey, the Duke of Luneburg sent Count Lippe with a report to the Emperor, and made him the bearer of seventeen standards out of twenty-two, which had been taken in the late battle and in the capture of the city, with orders to present them to his imperial majesty.

Though George William and Ernest Augustus were thus actively employed in what was considered the common cause of Germany, their brother, John Frederick, Duke of Hanover, had hitherto leant to the French interest, and was in constant correspondence with Louis XIV.

The parliament of England refusing to grant subsidies for the continuance of the war, Charles II. was obliged to make his peace with the Dutch. The Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster did the same, and France, without an ally, had recourse to Sweden, which

was prevailed upon to declare war against the Elector of Brandenburg. George William, therefore, changed the scene of his operations. He attacked the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which belonged to the Swedes, and after a long blockade, conquered Stade, and made himself master of both duchies. But though personally employed on the borders of his own states, he had a considerable force with the allied army in the Low Countries, and at the siege of Philipsburg his troops were greatly distinguished; and in one of the sallies made by the enemy from that place, Augustus Frederick, the eldest son of the Duke of Wolfenbüttel, was killed, at the head of the Brunswick legions.

The peace concluded at Nimeguen in 1679, between the Emperor, his allies, and France, put an end once more to the ravages of war; and as the House of Brunswick was allowed to retain many of the places which George William had conquered, they gained more by the peace of Nimeguen, than they had done by that of Westphalia. In all the measures that were either decided upon, or carried into execution, the Duke of Luncburg and his brother Ernest Augustus went hand in hand, but it

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was far otherwise with their brother, the Duke of Hanover. During the war, he had intrigued with France, and thwarted many of those arrangements which his family had entered into for the good of the whole. He had married the daughter of Edward, one of the sons of the King of Bohemia, who had abandoned the faith of his father's family, and as a Catholic, secured a princely establishment in France. John Frederick, therefore, conformed to that religion, and built a Catholic chapel within the precincts of his palace at Hanover. He did not venture, however, to make any change in the church establishment of his dominions; but rather chose to retire to a country more suited to his habits and religious bigotry.

Death of John Frederick:

After the peace of Nimeguen, he left Hanover, with the intention of taking up his residence at Rome; but at Augsburg, he was seized with a sudden illness, which, in a few days, put a period to his existence. His remains were brought back to Hanover, and interred in the vault of the chapel which he had built within the walls of his palace.

John Frederick, as we have stated, married,

in 1668, Benedicta Henrietta, the youngest daughter of Prince Edward, but as they had no son, the duchy devolved upon his brother, Ernest Augustus, Bishop of Osnaburg, the youngest son of George, Duke of Luneburg, (the first prince of his house that was styled Duke of Hanover,) and who, on succeeding to this principality, acquired that influence in the empire which his rank and his talents gave him a right to expect. In 1658, he had married Sophia, the youngest daughter of the Elector Palatine, a princess possessing, according to the records of that period, "the attractions of beauty and talent, an elegant form, an understanding richly cultivated, learning embellished with eloquence, and wit polished by the Graces," and who, in the early bloom of youth, had captivated the young Ferdinand of Austria, eldest son of Ferdinand III., and but for his untimely death in 1654, would probably have been Empress of Germany. She formed, it is true, a less splendid alliance, but in point of blood, she married a prince greatly superior to either her father's house, or the House of Austria, and still more ancient than even her mother's lineage.

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Ernest Augustus
succeeds him :

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A.D. 1679.

History of that
prince.

Ernest Augustus, though the youngest son of the Duke of Luneburg, the junior branch of the House of Brunswick, was a young and a handsome cavalier, and well calculated to win a woman's love : it is not surprising, then, that he gained the affections of the lovely Sophia, or that she should form the object of his choice. Sophia was born at the Hague, during the exile and hapless fortunes of her illustrious parents ; she was the youngest of twelve children, and as the favourite, had been reared with the greatest care by her widowed mother.

When the Lower Palatinate was restored to her elder brother, by the peace of Westphalia, she went to reside at his court, and she was married at Heidelberg, on the 13th September, in the twenty-eighth year of her age. During the first years of her married life, she resided at Hanover, where her husband, as a younger son, may be said to have lived upon the bounty of his brother ; but in 1665, Ernest Augustus succeeded to the Bishoprick of Osnaburg, and was enabled to hold a court of his own. A few short years brought them back to Hanover, as sovereigns of the country, and with an accumu-

lation of wealth and power, that enabled them to vie with the most distinguished princes in Europe.

Ernest Augustus had always lived on the most friendly and confidential terms with his eldest brother, the Duke of Celle; and the Duchess Sophia made it her study to increase their intimacy, and strengthen their affection. George William, during his residence in France, had seen and admired at the court of Brussels, the young and lovely Mademoiselle D'Olbrouse (one of the ladies of honour to the Duchess of Tarentum,) a gentlewoman of respectable family from Poitou, though not of that rank to form a legitimate marriage with a sovereign prince in Germany. But the interest of that prince with the Emperor Leopold was sufficiently great, to get the woman of his choice made a Princess of the empire, and the lovely Eleanora D'Emeirs became the legitimate wife of the Duke of Celle. The issue of this marriage was an only daughter, the acknowledged heir-ess of her father's dominions. As such she became an object of great interest to her uncle and aunt, and it was arranged between them and her father, that she should be united to

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their eldest son, in order that the whole duchy of Luneburg might be settled on their issue. The Duchess of Celle and her daughter, it is said, were adverse to that arrangement; the one because she disliked her ambitious intriguing sister-in-law, and the other, because she had fixed her affections on Augustus Frederick, the eldest son of Anthony Ulrick, Duke of Wolfenbüttel, whose unfortunate death in the trenches before Philipsburg, in 1676, too soon released her from her betrothment to that prince. The young Duke of Hanover, George Louis, was equally averse to the arrangements planned by his parents. He, too, had formed another attachment, and was little disposed to love his cousin. Fate, however, had determined that they should be united, and through the management of the Duchess Sophia, their marriage was effected in 1682.

State of Europe at
the accession of Ernest
Augustus.

When Ernest Augustus succeeded to the duchy of Hanover, the kingdoms of Europe were at peace with each other; but the Hungarians, discontented with their lot, soon appeared in arms under a Count Tekeli, and aided by the Turks, drove the Imperial garrisons from that kingdom. The invasion of the Austrian domi-

nions by the Infidel hordes, which followed the rejection of the terms offered by the ruler of Constantinople, compelled Leopold to have recourse to all ranks for aid, and he entered into particular alliances with the princes of Germany. The Dukes of Celle and Hanover engaged to furnish a strong body of troops, which, under the command of the young Prince George Louis, joined the Imperial army during the siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1683, and in the memorable defeat of the infidels before that city, he was greatly distinguished for his gallantry. In 1684, another reinforcement of ten thousand men, from the Duchy of Luneburg and Bishoprick of Osnaburg, joined Leopold, under the command of Frederick Augustus and Philip, the younger sons of Ernest Augustus. These troops continued to serve with the Imperial army; and their leaders, the Princes of Hanover, were both killed in the field of battle, Philip in 1690, and Frederick in 1691.

In 1689, the House of Saxe-Lauenburg became extinct by the failure of male issue. This House, which was the only branch of the Ascanian blood, ought, according to the rules of hereditary succession, to have been possessed

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of the Electorate of Saxony, but we have seen how the Emperor Sigismund disposed of that Electorate to the Marquis of Mesnia; and the descendants of this prince now claimed the States of Lauenburg. But the Duke of Celle, as having a preferable claim, and as general of the circle of Lower Saxony, took possession of these states, and expressed his determination to hold them until the pretensions of the several claimants could be legally ascertained; and finally, on the payment of a sum of money, the greater part of them were annexed to Luneburg. At this period, both George William and his brother were actively engaged in the war which existed between the Emperor and France; and the troops of Luneburg were greatly distinguished at the sieges of Mentz and Bonn, and shared in all the campaigns which preceded the peace of Ryswick in 1697.

In 1692, the Duke of Hanover had a force of six thousand men serving with the Austrian army in Hungary, and between nine and ten thousand under his eldest son in the Low Countries, and that same year, in consequence of the representations made by the King of England, and the favour he had acquired with Leopold,

who dreaded his power, the Emperor declared he would create a ninth Electorate, and confer that dignity upon the Duke of Hanover, if he would withdraw from the alliance he had formed with Louis XIV. The terms were accepted by Ernest Augustus, and a proposition was made in a diet held at Ratisbon, when the Electoral College having given their consent, this new creation was publicly announced, and the representatives of the Duke formally invested with the Electoral power and dignity. The princes of the empire remonstrated against a measure so hastily decided upon, but their remonstrances were not attended to; and notwithstanding the opposition of the Duke of Brunswick, who considered himself greatly injured by this elevation of a junior branch of his family, Ernest Augustus was eventually confirmed in his new dignity and title, and acknowledged by the several courts of Europe.

When the treaty of Ryswick was negotiated, the Elector of Hanover assisted at the conferences, and was allowed to treat as a separate power. Though almost always engaged in war, and obliged to keep large armies in the field, he found sufficient time and funds to

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Ernest Augustus
made Elector of
Hanover.

A.D. 1692.

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— 1697
A.D. 1629.

He improves and
embellishes his ca-
pital.

embellish the capital of his states with several magnificent and princely buildings, and the city of Hanover owes all that remains of its former splendour to his taste and munificence. He improved and enlarged the palace that had been built and enlarged by his grandfather and uncle, and erected the palace of Herrenhausen, in the suburbs, which soon became the favourite residence of the Electress. From the moment that he succeeded to the Duchy, he kept a splendid court at Hanover, and his courtiers are said to have rivalled those of the still more dissipated court of France, both in the politeness of their manners, and the licentiousness of their vices.

The Elector himself had travelled much, and had studied the manners of other nations; he was therefore capable of directing the minds of his subjects to such matters as should conduce to their improvement and civilisation; and while his latitudinarian principles admitted of much dissipation, the amiable virtues of the Electress preserved the strictest decorum within the circle of her own society.

The domestic life of Sophia, however, was not without its cares and anxieties. The political marriage which she had formed for her

eldest son had proved a source of much misery.

The Princess of Celle felt indignant at the neglect of her husband, and would not submit to the insults of his mistresses. The Electress,

by her own conduct, endeavoured to set her an example of patient forbearance, but it was all in vain, and though she had become the mother of a prince and princess, her domestic life was spent in recrimination and contention with her husband when present, and in upbraidings when absent. Her brother-in-law, the young Prince Philip, pitied her situation, and condoled with her in all her sufferings. She had found in his sympathy a consolation under many of her afflictions, but this prince had a friend and confidant, a Count Konigsmark, who was sometimes employed to carry messages between them. This man was vain and ambitious, and proud of the confidence that seemed to be reposed in him. The Princess wanted discretion, and was too complaisant to brother's friend. In a drunken frolic at the court of Denmark, Konigsmark boasted of his influence with the young Duchess of Hanover, and threw out insinuations that created suspicion. These were speedily conveyed to the

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Domestic measures
in the Elector's family.

Charles

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Electoral, and when he returned to Hanover, he was narrowly watched, and the Princess's conduct enquired into. Nothing, however, appeared that could in any way lead to a suspicion of guilt, though her confiding nature and unsuspecting heart might have committed some indiscretions; for whatever may have been the motives of the vain and profligate Königsmark, the princess only regarded him as the confidential friend of her brother Philip, who had advised her to fly from that court, where she was neglected by those that ought to have afforded her support and consolation, and where she had been treated with contempt by the mistresses of her husband, and her husband's father. Under pretence of preparing for her escape into France, where it was intended she should seek an asylum for the present, Königsmark obtained frequent and secret interviews with the princess. They vainly imagined that their plans were secret, but the Electoral was master of the whole intrigue, and Königsmark received a sudden order to quit the court and the capital, and to join his master Philip on the Hungarian frontier. He prevailed upon the Princess to grant him a parting interview,

at an hour when it was supposed it might take place with impunity, and in the middle of the night he was admitted to her bedchamber to receive her letters and despatches for the amiable Philip. But as his movements had been carefully observed, he had no sooner entered that chamber, than the Elector was called, and in the rage of the moment, he stationed two of the guards in the passage which led from the Princess's bedchamber, with orders to despatch the intriguer as soon as he made his appearance. His orders were but too well obeyed. Konigsmark had scarcely left the presence of the Duchess, when a dagger was plunged into his heart, and his body tossed into the common sewer of the palace. An account of the whole matter was transmitted to George William at Celle, and his daughter was conveyed a prisoner from Hanover to the Castle of D'Ahlen, where she resided for the remainder of her life,—pitied by her mother, but neglected by her father, and unnoticed by the Electoral family. She was by no means kept a close prisoner, but had liberty to visit at Celle while her father and mother lived. It was never pretended that she had committed

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actual guilt, consequently no measures were ever taken to procure a final divorce; but her indiscretion in betraying the secrets of her husband and of the Electoral court to an intriguing foreigner, and the admission of that foreigner into her bedchamber at such an improper hour, were crimes against the state and public decorum which the Elector could never pardon, or allow his son to forgive; but, indeed, as the prince and princess had never loved each other, and as their married life had been a scene of constant altercation, the catastrophe which led to their eternal separation is reported to have given equal pleasure to both, though it was severely felt by the high-minded Electress, and gave great uneasiness to the Duke of Celle.

Separation of the
Prince and Princess
of Hanover.

Family arrangement
consequent on the
establishment of the
Electorate.

When the Electoral dignity was conferred on the House of Hanover, the right of pro-geniture which had been declared and established in 1680, was renewed and confirmed by George William and his brother, the Elector, and all partitions that might be made thereafter of the States of Luneburg were declared to be void. The Electorate was expressly said to consist of the Principalities of Celle, Calen-

berg, and Grubenhagen, with the counties of Hoya and Deipholz, with all the territories, cities, and towns belonging to the same.

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The subject of the new electorate had formed no part of the discussions at Ryswick; its establishment was therefore neither confirmed nor denied by the powers that were parties to the treaty of peace concluded upon in 1697. But on the death of Ernest Augustus in the following year, when his eldest son, George Louis, demanded to be invested with the new dignity, the princes that had opposed the elevation of his father, addressed a strong remonstrance to the kings of France and Sweden, in which they showed that the Emperor, by the creation of a ninth electorate, had acted in direct opposition to the Golden Bull, the constitutions of the empire, contrary to the prerogatives of the three colleges, and in defiance of the treaty of Münster or Westphalia. These remonstrances were forwarded to the court of Vienna, but were not attended to. George Louis received the investiture in the month of January, 1699, and his title was formally acknowledged by all the powers of Europe.

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Death and character of the Elector.

Ernest Augustus, in whose person the House of Guelph recovered a small portion of its former splendour, and whose political influence raised his family to the regal dignity, though never formally admitted a member of the Electoral College, enjoyed, for the last six years of his life, all the honours of his rank, and transmitted them to his son. He possessed extraordinary talents and great accomplishments; and in the young and beautiful Princess Palatine had found a friend, an adviser, and a supporter so zealous, that his measures, which were generally planned with great wisdom, and pursued with undeviating firmness, were almost always certain of proving successful.

Sophia was superior to all the weaknesses that generally assail her sex: she knew the good qualities of her husband, and could pardon his frailties. She had no ambition beyond the advancement of her husband's happiness, and, by meriting his confidence, she maintained her influence, and aided greatly, by her prudent and sound advice, in rendering effectual every measure of his government. To the great grief of this most excellent princess, the husband of her affections was taken from her

on the 23rd of January, O.S., at a period of life which can scarcely be considered old age, and at a moment, too, when the more happy fortunes of his house were on the point of being realized.

William III., Prince of Orange, the nephew and son-in-law of James II., had, from his earliest youth, formed a strong attachment to George William, Duke of Celle, and his brother the Duke of Hanover,—an attachment which was cemented by the marriage of the latter with Sophia, the daughter of his mother's aunt, and his own favourite cousin.

When the British nation called William to her aid against the tyranny of the Catholic party, which had acquired absolute dominion over the mind of their weak, bigoted, but virtuous monarch, he took council of his friends at Hanover and Celle before he returned an answer, or made preparations to obey that call; and when firmly fixed on the British throne, he did not forget those friends. George William was elected a Knight of the Garter, and every time that the king visited the continent, he either waited upon the Duke at Celle, or had that Prince with him at the Hague.

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A.D. 1698.

Circumstances that led to the further elevation of the family of the Elector.

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A.D. 1698.

And when it became apparent that there was little probability of his own issue, or of the issue of the Princess Ann, his sister-in-law, succeeding him in England, he turned his attention to the Electress of Hanover and her descendants, as the only Protestant branch of the House of Stuart.

The wisdom of the British senate had decreed that no Catholic should reign in Britain; and of all the princes and princesses descended from James I., Sophia, the Electress and Duchess-dowager of Hanover, (though considerably removed as an hereditary claimant) was the next Protestant member of the blood-royal, after the Princess Anne. King William, therefore, regarded her and her issue as his contingent successors; and, as soon as the measure could be mooted with any degree of propriety, his wishes were whispered at court, and soon found their way among the people.

The King was in Holland when he received an account of the death of the infant Duke of Gloucester, the only son of the Princess Anne and Prince George of Denmark. He had a consultation with his aged friends the Duke of Celle, and the Electress; and on the meeting

of Parliament he declared his intentions, in a speech from the throne:—

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“ Our present misfortunes (says the King in that speech) in the death of the Duke of Gloucester, hath made it absolutely necessary that there should be a further provision for the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, after me and the Princess. The happiness of the nation, and the security of our religion, (which is our chiefest concern,) seems so much to depend upon this, that I cannot doubt but it will meet with a general concurrence; and I earnestly recommend it to your early care and effectual consideration.”

The subject, though new in Parliament, was not new to the nation; and the friends of the House of Hanover were not only ready to propose, but able to carry the measure in their favour. They knew that it had long been the wish of the King, and they were certain of the support of the true friends of the constitution. On the 3rd of March, the House of Commons resolved, “ That for preserving the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and the security of the Protestant religion, as by law established,

The claims of the Electress Sophia first noticed in the English parliament.

A.D. 1701.

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A.D. 1701.

The Act of Suc-
cession passed :

it was absolutely necessary that a further declaration should be made of the limitation and succession of the crown in the Protestant line, after his Majesty and the Princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively ; and that a further security should be made for the rights and liberties of the people." This resolution called forth the remonstrances of all the branches of the House of Stuart. The Duchess of Savoy, grand-daughter of Charles I., being the nearest in blood, appealed to the nation, and strongly protested against her claims being injured by any decision of the lower house.

There were about forty descendants of James the First alive at this period ; but all of them (as we have said), with the exception of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, were Roman Catholics. Their claims, therefore, passed unheeded ; and, on the 12th of June, the act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the people, received the royal assent.

In this act it was declared, " That the most excellent Princess Sophia, Electress and Du-

chess-dowager of Hanover, daughter of the Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of Bohemia, daughter to James I., should be next in succession to the crown of Great Britain." The Earl of Macclesfield was deputed by the king to carry the act to Hanover. He was received by a deputation of the nobles of that country on the frontiers, and conducted in great state to the capital. One of the best houses in the city was allotted to him as his residence, and his retinue were lodged and maintained at the expense of the Elector. "They were entertained," says the chronicle, "with balls and plays; and every person made it his business to oblige them." The Earl visited the veteran of Celle in his strong hold; and, on taking leave of the Electress, was presented with her picture set in diamonds; and the Elector bestowed on him a basin and ewer of massy gold.

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A.D. 1701.

And transmitted to
Hanover.

On the death of James II., the declaration of the court of France in favour of his son, caused some alarm among the friends of the Protestant succession; but it united the adherents of the king in defence of the measure recommended by him, and which they had

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sanctioned; and, upon the whole, was beneficial to the cause of the Electress. When his majesty again met his parliament, he told them, "That he need not press them to lay seriously to heart and to consider what further means might be used for securing the succession to the crown in the Protestant line, and extinguishing the hopes of all pretenders, and their secret and open abettors."

An act was immediately passed, declaring the attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales; and further provision was made for the better security of his majesty's person and government. This was the last act of King William's reign. He died on the 29th of March, 1702; and was succeeded by his sister-in-law, the Princess Anne.

When England declared war against France, at the commencement of Queen Anne's reign, the Duke of Celle, who was still alive, and the Elector of Hanover, the heir-apparent of the British throne, raised a large body of troops, for the avowed purpose of supporting Great Britain; but it was necessary, in the first instance, to employ them against the princes of their own house, the Dukes of Brunswick-Wol-

fenbüttel, as, contrary to their engagements to the Emperor, they had entered into an alliance with France. The Elector surprised and took Peyna, one of the Brunswick fortresses; and blockading Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel, compelled his cousin's to renounce that alliance, and to join the Emperor.

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A.D. 1702.

Parties at this time ran high in Britain. The deposed House of Stuart had many supporters, particularly in Scotland, where a great proportion of the nobility were *Jacobites*: the act of succession, therefore, did not pass so easily in the parliament of that kingdom. In the first of Queen Anne it could not be carried, from the opposition of the Duke of Hamilton and his party, who protested against the compatibility of the states to sit and act as a parliament; and, even in a subsequent one, an attempt was made by the Earl of Roxburgh to have it declared, "That the successor to be named by the meeting of estates, on the demise of her majesty, should not be the successor to the crown of England, unless there were such conditions settled and enacted in that session of parliament, as would secure the honour and independency of the kingdom of Scotland,

Conduct of the
Scotch parliament:

BOOK X.

A.D. 1703.

the freedom, frequency, and power of its parliaments, and the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, from the English or any foreign influence.”

This proposition was rejected; and the Earl of Marchmont brought in an act, to declare the Electress Sophia, and her heirs, to have a right to the crown of Scotland, after the demise of the Queen, without heirs of her body. The bill passed; but in consequence of the many and absurd limitations which it imposed upon the heirs of the crown, it did not receive the royal assent.

When the Scotch parliament met in 1704, Lord Tweedale was appointed high commissioner; and the Queen, in her letter to that assembly, says, “The main thing that we recommend to you, and which we recommend with all the earnestness we are capable of, is the settling of the succession in the Protestant line; as that which is absolutely necessary for your own peace and happiness, as well as our quiet and security in all our dominions, and for the reputation of our affairs abroad; and, consequently, for the strengthening the Protestant interest everywhere.

“ This has been our fixed judgment and resolution,” said her majesty, “ ever since we came to the crown ; and though, hitherto, opportunities have not answered our intention, matters are now come to that pass, by the undoubted evidence of the designs of our enemies, that a longer delay of settling the succession in the Protestant line may have very dangerous consequences ; and a disappointment of it would infallibly make that our kingdom the seat of war, and expose it to devastation and ruin. As to terms and conditions of government, with regard to the succession, we have empowered our commissioner to give the royal assent to whatever can in reason be demanded, and is in our power to grant, for securing the sovereignty and liberties of our ancient kingdom.” These sentiments were enforced by her commissioner, and supported by the Lord Chancellor Seafield.

The Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Rothes were again the leaders of the opposition ; and on their suggestion it was resolved, 1st, “ That the parliament would not proceed to the nomination of a successor, unless they had a previous treaty with England for regulating their commerce, and other concerns with

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that nation. Secondly, That the parliament would proceed to make such limitations and conditions of government, for the ratification of their constitution, as might secure the religion, liberty, and independence of the nation, before they proceeded to the said nomination."

Union of Scotland
and England:

As it was found impossible to carry this measure in the separate parliament of Scotland—a measure which, notwithstanding the language of the Queen, it is well known she never had seriously at heart—the whole influence of the court, and the friends of the Protestant religion, was brought to bear upon the union of the two kingdoms. The act of security was passed and agreed to, but the subject of the succession was dropped at that time. In 1707 the union was carried; and in the second article

Declaratory articles
in that Union re-
specting the suc-
cession.

of that treaty it was expressly declared, "That the succession to the monarchy of the united kingdom of Great Britain, and the dominions thereunto belonging, after her most sacred majesty, and in default of issue of her majesty, should remain, and continue to the most excellent Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess-dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; upon whom the crown of

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England is settled, by an act of parliament made in England in the twelfth year of the reign of his late majesty, King William the Third, entitled, ‘ An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject.’ That all Papists, and persons marrying Papists, should be excluded from, and for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy, the imperial crown of Great Britain, and the dominions thereunto belonging, or any part thereof; and in every such case the crown and government should, from time to time, descend to, and be enjoyed by, such person, being a Protestant, the same as if such Papist, or person marrying a Papist, was naturally dead, according to the provision for the descent of the crown of England, made by another act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their late majesties, King William and Queen Mary, entitled, ‘ An act declaring the rights and liberties of the subjects, and settling the succession of the crown.’”

The Queen, on giving her assent to the union of the two kingdoms, said, “ That she could not but look upon it as a peculiar hap-

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piness, that in her reign so full a provision was made for the peace and quiet of her people, and for the security of their religion, by so firm an establishment of the Protestant succession throughout Great Britain."

The princes of Hanover join England in the war against France:

At the commencement of the war with France, in consequence of the Spanish succession, the Elector of Hanover joined cordially with Great Britain and her allies; and from his own states, and those of his uncle and father-in-law, the old Duke of Celle, a subsidiary force of ten thousand men was furnished to the army under Marlborough in the Low Countries, besides his quota as a prince of the empire.

Conduct of the Electorate Princes in that war.

Prince Maximilian of Hanover, the Elector's brother, commanded the cavalry of the right wing of Marlborough's army at the ever-memorable battle of Blenheim, and was greatly distinguished for his judgment and gallantry. He afterwards entered the Austrian service, rose to the rank of a general field-marshal, was colonel of a regiment of horse, and a knight of the Golden Fleece. He died at Vienna in 1726, a member of the Roman Catholic church.

The jealousies which prevailed about this time between the courts of England and Hano-

ver prevented the active co-operation of the electoral troops during the campaign which led to the battle of Ramillies, and they were not present in that great action ; a circumstance which seems to have been keenly felt by George-Louis, a prince ambitious of military fame in his own person, and justly proud of the well-merited laurels of the troops of Luneburg. But from that moment he rose above the petty cabals of the cabinet, and evinced the same cordiality as formerly in the common cause. His contingent with the allied army was considerably augmented ; and he sent his eldest son, the electoral prince, to learn the art of war under the great Marlborough. At the hard fought battle of Oudenarde, this young prince charged the enemy several times at the head of a squadron of dragoons. One of his aides-de-camp was killed at his side, and he had a horse shot under him. The English general had such confidence in the firmness of the Hanoverian infantry, that he often placed himself at their head, and led them to the charge against the troops of France ; and it was allowed by all parties, that their steady bravery contributed, in no small degree, to the victory of

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Malplaquet. Few officers stood higher in the opinion of the Duke of Marlborough than the Hanoverian general, Count Schulemburg, who commanded the electoral troops during the campaigns in the Netherlands.

The success that attended the campaigns of Marlborough and Prince Eugene during this war, had little effect upon what was called the army of the empire, which was scarcely ever in a condition to keep the field. The Margrave of Bayrûth, who succeeded to the command on the death of Louis, Duke of Baden, had neither the talent as a general, nor the influence as a prince, to preserve unanimity and confidence in a force composed of so many independent corps, and it therefore became requisite to select a leader more fitted for so important a trust. Marlborough had fixed upon the Elector of Hanover, whose talents as a commander were very great, and whose experience in war had been considerable; and as his services in the allied cause gave Marlborough a right to be heard, he endeavoured to impress upon the Emperor the propriety, if not the necessity, of offering the command of his army to George-Louis. But, notwithstanding the Elector's thirst for military

The Elector of Hanover commands the Imperial army.

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glory, he was too well convinced of the badness of the materials he had to work upon, to undertake with pleasure such a heavy charge. After the command was offered to him, Marlborough had great difficulty in persuading him to accept it; and it was only in consequence of a pledge that all opposition to his taking his seat in the college of Electors should be withdrawn, that he consented. The Margrave of Bairuth left the army on the 3d of September, and the Elector of Hanover arrived at Philippsburg on the 13th. On the 15th he joined the army at Etlingen, and assumed the command. His first care was to issue such orders as were necessary to restore the troops to some degree of discipline, and correct the licentious habits which had so long prevailed. His next was to hold a council of war, to ascertain whether it was advisable to attack the enemy in the then state of the army, or to wait for the expected reinforcements and improved discipline of the troops. It was suggested by the Elector, that the Rhine might be crossed, and the enemy's lines at Lauterberg threatened, with the view of inducing them to recross that river; or, if this should be considered impracticable, he pro-

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posed the securing of various convenient posts, with the intention of covering the country from the incursions of the enemy.

His campaigns :

As the French were superior in numbers to the Imperialists, and as the latter were destitute of magazines for their subsistence on the opposite side of the Rhine, it was at last decided that a general attack could not be ventured upon ; but it was resolved to form a line of posts from Daxlant to Etlingen, and that the enemy should be harassed as much as possible in his several cantonments, while orders were sent to hasten up the reinforcements from Franconia and the other states.

The Elector having ascertained that the French had a considerable force in a camp near Offenburg, under General Vivans, and that a body of infantry was on its march to join them, for the avowed purpose of retaking Homburg, he detached Count Mercy, with a small corps, to surprise their camp before it was reinforced. Mercy was an officer of experience, and had often distinguished himself ; and, from his intimate knowledge of the country, was well fitted for this duty. His detachment left the army, with great secrecy, on the evening of the

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19th of September, and at the same time a movement was made in a different direction, with the view of deceiving the enemy's spies. Count Mercy conducted this affair with great judgment; and marched with so much expedition, that he surprised the enemy on the morning of the 24th, when a considerable body of their troops were detached on a foraging party. Their intrenchments were attacked and carried, and they lost upwards of a thousand men, and several of their best officers. General Vivans found great difficulty in making his escape, and his force was completely routed and dispersed.

He gains a victory:

The victors were rewarded with four standards, a number of prisoners and horses, a large quantity of specie, and the whole booty of the camp. The affair was scarcely ended, when the advance of the infantry, which was to have joined that day, appeared in sight.

The French were unwilling to acknowledge their loss on this occasion; but it was sufficient to inspire the Germans with fresh spirit, and augured well for their future success under the command of the Elector. Marshal Villars recalled the detachments which had been sent

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Meets the Duke
of Marlborough at
Mentz :

towards Provence ; but, though his army was greatly superior to that of the empire, he was not able to obtain any advantage which could compensate for his severe loss at Offenburg.

When the armies went into winter-quarters, the Duke of Marlborough joined the Electors of Mentz and Hanover, at Frankfort ; where, with the deputies of the states of Holland, and the imperial plenipotentiary, Count Wratislaw, a conference was held on the arrangements necessary for the ensuing campaign. The Elector of Hanover, as generalissimo, laid before the deputies of the imperial circles the propositions, which had been sanctioned and approved of by the English commander.

The diet was well disposed to carry on the war with that vigour which suited the temper of their new general. They acceded to the demands of the Elector ; and, with regard to the money he required, they resolved that the circles of the empire should each furnish their due proportion of a sum of 200,000 rix-dollars, and send it to the city of Frankfort within a month after the imperial ratification of their present resolution. The disposal of that sum was left to the discretion of his

Electoral Highness, and the city had only to issue the money according to his orders, and to keep a regular account of the disbursements.

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His Imperial Majesty was most humbly entreated, on the part of the empire, as the affair would admit of no delay, to issue with all expedition the requisite orders to the several circles, to the end that, within the prescribed period of four weeks, each might pay in their proportion to the city of Frankfort, and receive a discharge for the same; and, inasmuch as this was a pressing affair, that no state of the empire should be exempted from contributing its proper contingent.

The change for the better which had taken place in the management of the affairs of the imperial army, was considered of sufficient importance to be noticed in England in the speech from the throne; and Queen Anne, on meeting her parliament in November, observed, that “the weakness and ill posture of affairs upon the Rhine in the beginning of the year, had given an opportunity to the French to make themselves stronger in all other parts; but that defect seemed in a very promising

His success noticed
by Queen Anne:

BOOK X.

A.D. 1708.

way of being fully remedied against next campaign, by the conduct and authority of the Elector of Hanover, whose seasonable acceptance of that command had strengthened and obliged the whole confederacy."

The Elector returned to Hanover to regulate the affairs of his own states during the winter; and, in conformity to the promise which had been given to him the preceding year, we find that the imperial decree, by which his father had been raised to the dignity of Elector, dated 19th December, 1692; and another decree, establishing a ninth electorate in the House of Hanover, dated 21st July, 1706;

His rank acknowledged by the College of Princes:

were taken into consideration in the College of Princes in the month of February. After being read, examined, and their full tenor debated in the accustomed forms, it was *unanimously* agreed and concluded, "That, in consideration of the special reasons alleged in these decrees, and other important motives, the college consented, on the part of the whole princes of the empire, without any reserve, to the new electoral dignity conferred by his late Imperial Majesty, Leopold; and to the establishment of a ninth electorate, in the

most ancient, powerful, and, of the holy Roman empire, so well-deserving House of Brunswick-Luneburg and Hanover; that is to say, in the first line of that house in the order of primogeniture:" but it was not until the 30th of June that the Elector was permitted to take his seat and to vote in the Electoral College.

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A.D. 1708.

Notwithstanding the fair promises of the princes, and the decrees of the German diet, their army was slowly reinforced, badly supplied, and ill paid. Yet, in spite of the difficulties which the Elector had to contend with, he was able to keep the enemy in check, and to prevent his detaching any considerable force to the Low Countries, or to Dauphiny. He kept the Elector of Bavaria, with ten thousand men, inactive upon the Rhine; and prevented his either marching into Brabant, or even returning to his own territory. But, upon the whole, he had every reason to be disgusted with the conduct of the states of the empire, which was ill calculated to give satisfaction to a general, whose ambition was to attack his enemies, and not to wait to be attacked.

The States of Germany fail in their promises:

When his army went into winter-quarters,

BOOK X.

A.D. 1709.

the Elector returned to Hanover, where he found the court of his mother in alarm, on account of the death of Prince George of Denmark; and the probability of Queen Anne being induced to marry again, in consequence of the addresses of Parliament. He rather shunned the bustle and intrigues of the Electress and her courtiers, and gave himself little concern about an event which had long been paramount to every other in the anxious mind of his mother. It is believed that he left the army this season with the intention of resigning the chief command; but as the period for taking the field drew near, he was prevailed upon to continue with it for another campaign. Marshal Thunegen had been indefatigable during the winter and spring; and his exertions were so far crowned with success, that the army was in a much better condition this year, than it had been in the two preceding campaigns.

His army however is improved:

The Elector did not join the army till the end of July, when he detached Count Mercy, his favourite general, with a strong corps, towards the Black Forest, and with orders to pass the Rhine and execute a concerted attack

upon the enemy's posts in that direction. But this attack failed, and the armies continued to watch each other during the rest of the autumn. When the time for going into winter-quarters arrived, the Elector took his final leave of the Imperial army, and was succeeded in the chief command by Prince Eugene, Duke of Savoy.

BOOK X.

A.D. 1709.

The Elector resigns
his command.

As it is not our intention to enter into the intrigues and cabals which agitated the courts of England and Hanover during the four years that intervened between this period and the accession of the Elector of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, we now hasten to the conclusion of these annals.

His highness did not live on good terms either with his mother or his son, and seemed to view with indifference the splendid prospects which the former had secured for him. He was attached to his native country, and contented with the rank which he held, as a sovereign prince of the empire, and a member of the electoral college. His lukewarmness, therefore, was discouraging to his friends in England, and gave serious offence to his aged parent. She, however, did not relax in her endeavours

Intrigues at Hano-
ver, and in England.

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to secure the succession. Her name was inserted in the liturgy, and she was regularly prayed for after the Queen of England. Her grandson was created Duke of Cambridge, and invested with the order of the Garter; and it became a favourite part of her politics to have his residence established in England; a circumstance equally desired by the whigs and friends of the Protestant succession. They succeeded in obtaining a writ for his being summoned to Parliament as Duke of Cambridge, and the same was transmitted to Hanover with all expedition. But these transactions gave great offence to the queen, whose mind had long vacillated between a wish to relieve her conscience from a load of ingratitude to her injured father, and what she considered her duty to her God and the nation. To her last moment it is believed that she sincerely wished for the restoration of her brother, while all her public conduct and royal declarations held forth a very different language. But the idea of having a prince of the house she so thoroughly detested near her person, was a subject to her, of all others, the most distressing.

Lord Paget was selected to follow the

messenger that carried out the writ, and by him she wrote to the Electress in these terms:—

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“Madam, sister, aunt—Since the right of succession to my kingdoms has been declared to belong to you and your family, there have always been disaffected persons, who, by particular views of their own interest, have entered into measures to fix a prince of your blood in my dominions, even whilst I am yet living. I never thought till now that this project would have gone so far as to have made the least impression on your mind. But, as I have lately perceived by public rumours, which are industriously spread, that your Electoral Highness is come into this sentiment, it is of importance, with respect to the succession of your family, that I should tell you that such a proceeding will infallibly draw along with it some consequences that will be dangerous to that succession itself; which is not secure any other way, than as the prince, who actually wears the crown, maintains her authority and prerogative. There are here (such is our misfortune) a great many people who are seditiously disposed; so

The Queen writes
to the Electress:

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I leave you to judge what tumults they may be able to raise, if they should have a pretext to begin a commotion. I persuade myself, therefore, you will never consent that the least thing will be done that may disturb the repose of me and my subjects.

“Open yourself to me with the same freedom I do to you, and propose whatever you may think will contribute to the security of the succession: I will come into it with zeal, provided it do not derogate from my dignity, which I am resolved to maintain; and I am, with a great deal of affection,” &c.

And to the Duke of
Cambridge:

To the prince she addressed herself also, by the same messenger, as follows:—

“Cousin—An accident which has happened in my Lord Paget’s family having hindered him from setting forward as soon as he thought to have done, I cannot defer any longer letting you know my thoughts with respect to the design you have of coming into my kingdoms. As the opening of this matter ought to have been first to me, so I expected you would not have given ear to it without knowing my thoughts about it. However, this is what I owe to

my own dignity, the friendship I have for you, and the Electoral House to which you belong, and the true desire I have that it may succeed to my kingdoms; and this requires of me that I should tell you, that nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my dominions, and the right of succession in your line, and, consequently, more disagreeable to me, than such a proceeding at this juncture.

“ I am, with a great deal of friendship,

“ Your affectionate cousin,

“ ANNE R.”

These letters made a powerful impression upon the aged Electress, whose feelings were not in a state to be thwarted in any of her political arrangements, particularly in this which she had so much at heart. She directed copies of them to be sent to the Duke of Marlborough, with whom she had constantly corresponded, and who was then at Antwerp; and we learn from the letters of Mr. Molyneux, at that time his grace's political agent at the court of Hanover, that the result was more fatal than was at first apprehended. The Electress was so deeply

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Her Letters agitate
the Electress:

BOOK X. affected with the anxiety of the moment, that
 A.D. 1714. her feeble frame sunk under contending
 passions.

The letters were delivered on Wednesday, the 6th of June, at noon; and although she continued her usual occupations, and conversed on indifferent subjects, she complained of being unwell on Thursday, and was confined to her bed. On Friday she was able to dress and dine with the Elector, and in the evening took her accustomed walk in the orangery, behind the palace; but being caught in a shower of rain, she walked rather quickly to get under cover. Her attendants remarked to her, that she was walking too fast: she answered, "I believe I do;" and immediately dropped down, and these were the last words she ever uttered. Thus died Sophia, Electress and Duchess-dowager of Brunswick-Luneburg and Hanover, on the 8th of June, 1714, in the 84th year of her age.

Who dies suddenly :

Character of Sophia :

She was a woman, as we have stated, of uncommon beauty, and of a masculine understanding. A contemporary writer relates, that at the age of seventy-three she possessed all the beauty and vigour of youth, stept as firm

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and erect as a young lady, and had not a wrinkle in her face, nor one tooth out of her head; she read without spectacles, and was constantly employed. The chairs of the presence chamber were all embroidered with her own hands, as also the ornaments for the altar of the electoral chapel. She was a great walker, and generally spent two or three hours daily in perambulating the garden and pleasure grounds about Herrnhausen. She possessed great general knowledge, and was the firm friend and protector of the learned men of her day. She was the first to discover the genius of the immortal Leibnitz; and her munificence and condescension attached that philosopher to her court during the greater part of his life. Her most happy hours were spent in his society; and she took a warm interest in the success of his discoveries in science, and in the promulgation of his well-merited fame. She spoke five languages so well, that, by her accent, it was doubtful which of them was her native tongue. The low Dutch, the German, the Italian, French, and English, were all equally familiar; and she would discourse in the last with an ease and fluency that few fo-

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reigners have ever attained. She made the laws and constitution of England her peculiar study, from the moment it became probable that she might be called to the throne, and none understood them better.

She had a genius, says her biographer, equally turned for conversation and business, that rendered her not only the delight and ornament of a court, but able to manage and support its highest interests. The greatness of her soul bore equal proportion to her illustrious birth, and the exalted station which she filled; but withal was tempered with so much sweetness and affability, that the duty of those below her became all one with their pleasure. The knowledge of her virtues added to the lustre of her titles, and respect grew upon familiarity. No one ever gave liberties with a better grace, or could act without reserve to greater advantage; and she acted her part to admiration, as a daughter of England and mother of Germany.

Her wit was sprightly, curious, and surprising; her judgment solid and penetrating, founded upon the best maxims of reading and study, and corrected by observation and experience.

Nothing could exceed the brilliancy and beauty of her conversation but her letters; and both were easy, entertaining, and instructive. She had a fund of happiness within herself which made retirement pleasant; but her care in her domestic economy, and in the general government of the country, showed that she had a just sense of her being born for the good of others.

Her piety was exemplary, without affectation; and her religious sentiments were neither perplexed with doubts nor enslaved by superstition. She was studious to prevent, sedulous to oppose, and active to suppress, every little quarrel or party intrigue, that grew up or ripened where she had any influence. No one had a higher idea of what was due to birth and majesty, or maintained better the dignity of the royal lineage from which she was descended. She had experienced, when young, the misfortunes of her own and her mother's house; and no temptations could weaken her attachment to the blood of the Stuarts.

It may be objected to this princess, that ambition made her prefer her own aggrandizement to the claims of her exiled relations; but when

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we find that the children forgot their duty to their father and their sovereign, we have a sufficient excuse for the conduct of the Electress Sophia in urging her claims to the throne which they had forfeited.

Effects produced by
her death.

The death of the Electress made a considerable alteration in the state of parties in England, and gave new vigour and firmness to the friends of the Elector, now the presumptive heir to the crown. Her death also relieved him from considerable difficulties; being no longer controlled by her authority, he was able to adopt an uniform and consistent plan of conduct. “Although he placed his principal reliance on the Whigs, (says a late writer*,) yet, being of a prudent and cautious temper, he did not neglect the Tories. Declining to irritate the Queen, by permitting his son to accept the invitation to England, refusing to spend his treasure in strengthening his interest, or to interfere in factious cabals, he appeared almost too indifferent to stretch out his hand to the sceptre that was within his grasp, and adroitly left his interests to the management of his adherents and agents.” When the Queen trans-

* Coxe's *Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough*, vol. vi. p. 284.

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mitted her letters to the Electress and Prince, the Earl of Oxford also addressed the Elector; and by his artful duplicity, in paying court successively to every party, rendered himself equally contemptible to all. He offended the Queen by his overtures to the electoral family, and did not succeed in obtaining their confidence. But whatever may have been the political maxims of this minister, it is certain that the cabinet of Queen Anne never became altogether *Jacobitical* till after his dismissal.

It was fortunate for this country, that Lord Bolingbroke and his party had not time to organize the measures they had in contemplation. The Queen, on the 27th of July, was a witness to the disgraceful scene which took place between him and Lord Oxford. Her feelings were deeply affected, and she retired in great agitation. This agitation was considerably increased on the 29th; the disease under which she had some time suffered was suddenly checked, her constitutional gout flew to the brain, and she sunk into a state of stupefaction, broken by occasional fits of delirium.

Last illness of Queen Anne.

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State of parties in
England.

Bolingbroke employed that awful interval of suspense in accelerating his political arrangements, and the most alarming apprehensions seized upon all the well-wishers to the Protestant succession. The Whigs, however, were not inactive. They had already entered into a formal association, nominated officers, collected arms and ammunition; and were preparing to take the necessary precautions, to obtain possession of the fortresses and out-ports of the kingdom, to seize the Tower, and adopt every possible precaution for proclaiming the constitutional king. In the midst of these exertions the indisposition of the Queen increased; and a committee of the privy-council kept sitting in a chamber of the royal palace at Kensington, to make the most prompt and effectual arrangements on the event. Fortunately, the Duke of Shrewsbury was among the members present; and his patriotic conduct at that important crisis compensated for his former duplicity.

In the quarrels between the rival ministers he had often acted with indecision, though he adhered generally to Lord Oxford, whom he considered the least dangerous. But he now

saw that the moment was arrived when he must adopt a decided line of conduct. The Hanoverian party astonished this assembly of the privy-council by their firmness and promptitude. In the midst of their discussions the Dukes of Argyll and Somerset suddenly entered the council-chamber, and said, that understanding the danger of the Queen, they had hastened to offer their assistance. In the pause of surprise which ensued, the Duke of Shrewsbury rose and thanked them for their offer; and having taken their seats, they proposed an examination of the physicians. The report was, that her majesty was in imminent danger; and, as it was resolved that the post of lord treasurer should be filled without delay, the Duke of Shrewsbury was recommended to that office.

Bolingbroke and his partisans were thunderstruck, but made no opposition; and, with the approbation of the medical attendants, a committee waited upon the Queen, and declared the unanimous opinion of her council. Her majesty was incapable of exertion; faintly approving the choice, she delivered the staff to the Duke, and bade him use it for the good of her people. The same afternoon Lord Somers

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The death of the Queen, and succession of George I.

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shook off his bodily infirmities, and repaired to Kensington. He was accompanied, or followed, by many privy-councillors of the same party; and by their impulse a sudden revolution took place in the counsels of government. Troops were ordered to march to the metropolis. Ten battalions were recalled from Flanders, an embargo was laid on the ports, a fleet sent to sea, under the command of the Earl of Berkeley, and strong measures adopted to maintain the public tranquillity in every part of the empire.

The states of Holland were requested to guarantee the Protestant succession; and an express was sent to the Elector of Hanover, entreating him to repair, without delay, to the Hague, where a fleet would be ready to convey him to England, should it please God to call the Queen to his mercy.

The Queen having relapsed into a lethargy, and the physicians despairing of her life, the heralds at arms, and a troop of the life-guards, were summoned on duty; and by these and other judicious arrangements, the death of the sovereign, which happened at seven o'clock in the morning of the 1st of August, was instantly

followed by the proclamation of the Elector of Hanover as King, under the title of George the First. "Thus," observes the author we have followed*, "by the blessing of Divine Providence, the Protestant succession was secured."

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* Archdeacon Coxe.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

VOLUME THE SECOND.

WHEN the Charter of the Duchy of Brunswick and Luneburg was granted to Otho, Prince of Saxony, surnamed the Child, by the Emperor Frederick II., the whole of the dignified clergy of the empire subscribed it as witnesses, and after them the following lay princes. 1. Otho, Duke of Bavaria, Count Palatine of the Rhine. 2. Henry, Duke of Brabant. 3. Albert, Duke of Saxony. 4. Berthold, Duke of Carinthia, 5. Matthew, Duke of Lorraine. 6. Herman, Landgrave of Thuringen, Palatine of Saxony. 7. Henry, Margrave of Misnia. 8. Henry, Margrave of Baden. 9. and 10. John and Otho, Margraves of Brandenburg. 11. Herman, Count of Senen. 12. Henry, Count of Bar. 13. David, Count of Cleves; and 14. Henry, Count of Hainault, with many others. Of the families of the first, third, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth of these witnesses, I have given a brief history in the Notes and Illustrations to the first volume, and it only now remains for me to give some account of those who, from having become extinct, could not be noticed among the existing dynasties in Europe.

Henry, Duke of Brabant, the second witness in the list, was the son of Henry I., Duke of Brabant.

Charles, the youngest son of Louis IV., King of France, was made Duke of Nether Lorraine, in 965, and his daughter, Gerberga, married Limbert, Count of Louvain. Limbert, their second son, became Duke of Brabant and Count of

Louvain, on the death of his elder brother Henry, in 1038. He died in 1068, and was succeeded by his son, Godfrey, or Geoffrey I., who married Sophia, the daughter of the Emperor Henry IV.; Godfrey II., their son and successor, married Irmingarde, the daughter of Frederick of Hohenstauffen, and their son, Godfrey III., was Count of Louvain in 1142. Henry I., Duke of Brabant, was the son of Godfrey III., and his son was Henry II., the subscribing witness. The male line of this family became extinct in 1355, when Johanna, the eldest daughter of John III., Duke of Brabant, conveyed the Duchy of her first husband, William IV., Count of Holland, afterwards to her second husband, Wencelaus, Duke of Luxemburg; and finally, in 1406, to the Duke of Burgundy.

Berthold, Duke of Carinthia, the fourth witness, is a Prince of whom we have no record whatever. Matthew, Duke of Lorraine, the fifth witness, was descended from Gerhard, Count of Alsace, and the heiress of Albert I., Count of Namur, in 1070. Matthew was the sixth in descent from this Gerhard, but as he was a younger son of Frederick II., Duke of Lorraine, we have no account of his issue. He married Catherine, the daughter of the Duke of Luneburg. The elder branch of the House of Lorraine became extinct in the male line in 1765, and a junior branch of the same family, which became Dukes of Guise, ended in 1675.

Mary of Guise, Queen of James V. of Scotland, and mother of Queen Mary Stuart, was the daughter of Claude, first Duke of Guise, and grand-daughter of Renatus, Duke of Lorraine.

Herman, Count of Senen, the eleventh witness, is a prince of whose history we are ignorant.

Henry, Count of Bar, the twelfth witness, was a descendant of the House of Luxemburg.

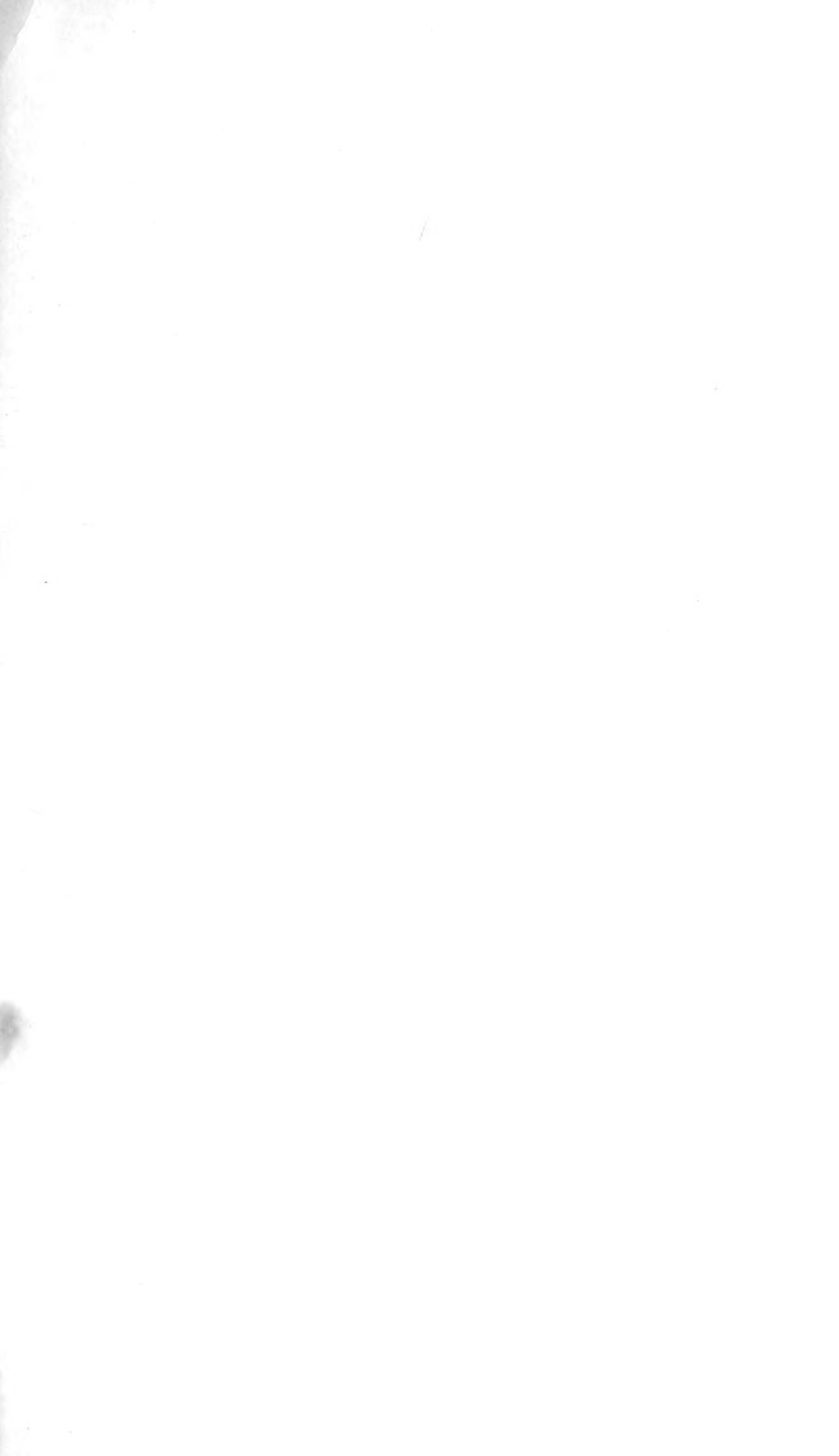
David, Count of Cleves, was of an ancient and original family. His descendants remained Counts of Cleves, till the reign of the Emperor Sigismund; when Adolphus I. was made Duke of Cleves, and elevated to the rank of a Prince of the Empire. This family is extinct in the male line.

Of Henry, Count of Hainault, the last witness, we only know that the first Count of Hainault was a certain René or Regnier, that came from the court of France, and rose to distinction by his bravery in the Norman wars. He died about 916, and is considered the common ancestor of the first Dukes of Lorraine, and Counts of Louvain.

Regnier, the third in succession from his great ancestor, married the daughter of Hugo Capet, and their male issue ended with Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and Hainault, the conqueror of Constantinople, and first Latin Emperor of the East. Margaret, the youngest daughter of Baldwin, married her guardian, Burchard d'Avesnes, a gentleman of Hainault, and the states of Flanders and Hainault were inherited by the sons of that marriage.

THE END.

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